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THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

That part especially now call'd

ENGLAND.

From the first Traditional Beginning, continu'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

Collected out of the antientest and best Authours thereof by

JOHN MILTON.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

BRITAIN,

That Part eſpecially now call'd *England*; Continu'd to the *Norman Conqueſt*.

BOOK I.

THe beginning of Nations, thoſe excepted of whom ſacred Books have ſpok'n, is to this day unknown. Nor only the beginning, but the deeds alſo of many ſucceeding Ages, yea periods of Ages, either wholly unknown, or obſcur'd and blemiſht with Fables. Whether it were that the uſe of Letters came in long after, or were it the violence of barbarous inundations, or they themſelves at certain revolutions of time, fatally decaying, and

degenerating into Sloth and Ignorance; wherby the monuments of more ancient civility have bin ſom deſtroy'd, ſom loſt. Perhaps diſ-eſteem and contempt of the public affairs then preſent, as not worth recording, might partly be in cauſe. Certainly oft-times we ſee that wiſe men, and of beſt abilitie have forborn to write the Acts of thir own daies, while they beheld with a juſt loathing and diſdain, not only how unworthy, how pervers, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all Hiſtory the perſons and thir actions were; who either by fortune, or ſom rude election had attain'd as a ſore judgment, and ignominie upon the Land, to have cheif ſway in managing the Commonwealth. But that any law, or ſuperſtition of our old Philoſophers the *Druids* forbad the *Britains* to write thir memorable deeds, I know not why any out of *Cæſar* ſhould allege: he indeed ſaith, that thir doctrine they thought not lawful to commit to Letters; but in moſt matters elſe, both privat, and public, among which well may Hiſtory be reck'nd, they us'd the Greek Tongue: and that the *Britiſh Druids* who taught thoſe in *Gaule* would be ignorant of any Language known and us'd by thir Diſciples, or ſo frequently writing other things, and ſo inquiſitive into higheſt, would for want of recording be ever Children in the Knowledge of Times and Ages, is not likely. What ever might be the reaſon, this we find, that of *Britiſh affairs*, from the firſt peopling of the Iland to the coming of *Julius Cæſar*, nothing certain, either by Tradition, Hiſtory, or Ancient Fame hath hitherto bin left us. That which we have of oldeſt ſeeming, hath by the greater part of judicious Antiquaries bin long rejected for a modern Fable.

Cæſ. l. 6.

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Nevertheleſs there being others beſides the firſt ſuppos'd Author, men not unread, nor unlerned in Antiquitie, who admitt that for approved ſtory, which the former explode for fiction, and ſeeing that oft-times relations heertofore accounted fabulous have bin after found to contain in them many footſteps, and reliques of ſomthing true, as what we read in Poets of the Flood, and Giants little beleev'd, till undoubted witneſſes taught us, that all was not fain'd; I have therfore determin'd to beſtow the telling over ev'n of theſe reputed Tales; be it for nothing elſe but in favour of our Engliſh Poets, and Rhetoricians, who by thir Art will know, how to uſe them judiciouſly.

I might alſo produce example, as *Diodorus* among the *Greeks*, *Livie* and others of the *Latines*, *Polydore* and *Virunnius* accounted among our own Writers. But I intend not with controverſies and quotations to delay or interrupt the ſmooth courſe of Hiſtory; much leſs to argue and debate long who were the firſt Inhabitants, with what probabilities, what authorities each opinion hath bin upheld, but ſhall endevor that which hitherto hath bin needed moſt, with plain, and lightſom brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, ſo as may beſt inſtruct and benefit them that read. Which, imploring divine aſſiſtance, that it may redound to his glory, and the good of the *Britiſh* Nation, *I now begin.*

That the whole Earth was inhabited before the Flood, and to the utmoſt point of habitable ground, from thoſe effectual words of *God* in the Creation, may be more then conjectur'd. Hence that this Iland alſo had her dwellers, her affairs, and perhaps her ſtories, eev'n in that old World thoſe many hun-

derd years, with much reaſon we may inferr. After the Flood, and the diſperſing of Nations, as they journey'd leaſurely from the Eaſt, *Gomer* the eldeſt Son of *Japhet*, and his off-ſpring, as by Authorities, Arguments, and Affinitie of divers names is generally beleev'd, were the firſt that peopl'd all theſe Weſt and Northren Climes. But they of our own Writers, who thought they had don nothing, unleſs with all circumſtance they tell us when, and who firſt ſet foot upon this Iland, preſume to name out of fabulous and counterfet Authors a certain *Samothes* or *Dis*, a fowrth or ſixt Son of *Japhet*, whom they make about 200 years after the Flood, to have planted with Colonies; firſt the Continent of *Celtica*, or *Gaule*, and next *this Iland*; Thence to have nam'd it *Samothea*, to have reign'd heer, and after him lineally fowr Kings, *Magus*, *Saron*, *Drnis*, and *Bardus*. But the forg'd *Beroſus*, whom only they have to cite, no where mentions that either hee, or any of thoſe whom they bring, did ever paſs into *Britain*, or ſend thir people hither. So that this outlandiſh figment may eaſily excuſe our not allowing it the room heer ſo much as of a *Britiſh* Fable.

That which follows, perhaps as wide from truth, though ſeeming leſs impertinent, is, that theſe *Samotheans* under the Reign of *Bardus* were ſubdu'd by *Albion* a Giant, Son of *Neptune*: who call'd the Iland after his own name, and rul'd it 44 years. Till at length paſſing over into *Gaul*, in aid of his Brother *Leſtrygon*, againſt whom *Hercules* was haſting out of *Spain* into *Italy*, he was there ſlain in fight, and *Bergion* alſo his Brother.

Sure anough we are, that *Britan* hath bin anciently term'd *Albion*, both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. And

And *Mela* the Geographer makes mention of a ſtonie ſhoar in *Languedoc*, where by report ſuch a Battel was fought. The reſt, as his giving name to the Ile, or ever landing heer, depends altogether upon late ſurmiſes. But too abſurd, and too unconſcionably groſs is that fond invention that wafted hither the fifty daughters of a ſtrange *Diocleſian King of Syria*; brought in doubtles by ſom illiterat pretender to ſomthing miſtak'n in the Common Poetical Story of *Danaus King of Argos*, while his vanity, not pleas'd with the obſcure beginning which trueſt Antiquity affords the Nation, labour'd to contrive us a Pedigree, as he thought, more noble. Theſe Daughters by appointment of *Danaus* on the mariage-night having murder'd all thir Huſbands, except *Linceus*, whom his Wives loialty ſav'd, were by him at the ſuit of his Wife thir Siſter, not put to death, but turn'd out to Sea in a Ship unmann'd; of which whole Sex they had incurr'd the hate: and as the Tale goes, were driv'n on *this Iland*. Where the Inhabitants, none but Devils, as ſom write, or as others, a lawleſs crew left heer by *Albion* without Head or Governour, both entertain'd them, and had iſſue by them a ſecond breed of Giants, who tyranniz'd *the Ile*, till *Brutus* came.

The Eldeſt of theſe Dames in thir Legend they call *Albina*; and from thence, for which cauſe the whole ſcene was fram'd, will have the name *Albion* deriv'd. Incredible it may ſeem ſo ſluggiſh a conceit ſhould prove ſo ancient, as to be authoriz'd by the Elder *Ninnius*, reputed to have liv'd above a thouſand years agoe. This I find not in him; but that *Hiſtion* ſprung of *Japhet*, had four Sons; *Francus*, *Romanus*, *Alemannus*, and *Britto*, of whom the *Britans*; as true, I beleeve, as that thoſe other Nations whoſe names Holinſhed.

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are reſembl'd, came of the other three; if theſe Dreams give not juſt occaſion to call in doubt the Book it ſelf, which bears that title.

Hitherto the things themſelves have giv'n us a warrantable diſpatch to run them ſoon over. But now of *Brutus* and his Line, with the whole Progeny of Kings, to the entrance of *Julius Cæſar*, we cannot ſo eaſily be diſcharg'd; Deſcents of Anceſtry, long continu'd, laws and exploits not plainly ſeeming to be borrow'd, or devis'd, which on the common beleif have wrought no ſmall impreſſion: defended by many, deny'd utterly by few. For what though *Brutus*, and the whole *Trojan* pretence were yeelded up, ſeeing they who firſt devis'd to bring us from ſom noble Anceſtor were content at firſt with *Brutus* the Conſul; till better invention, although not willing to forgoe the name, taught them to remove it higher into a more fabulous Age, by the ſame remove lighting on the *Trojan* Tales in affectation to make the *Britan* of one Original with the *Roman*, pitch'd there, yet thoſe old and inborn names of ſucceſſive Kings, never any to have bin real perſons, or don in thir lives at leaſt ſom part of what ſo long hath bin remember'd, cannot be thought without too ſtrict an incredulity.

For theſe, and thoſe cauſes above mention'd, that which hath receav'd approbation from ſo many, I have chos'n not to omitt. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the credit of thoſe whom I muſt follow; ſo far as keeps alooff from impoſſible and abſurd, atteſted by ancient Writers from Books more ancient I refuſe not, as the due and proper ſubject of Story. The principal Author is well know'n to be *Geoffrey of Monmouth*; what he was, and whence his authority, who in his age or before him have deliver'd the ſame matter,

matter, and ſuch like general diſcourſes, will better ſtand in a Treatiſe by themſelvs. All of them agree in this, that *Brutus* was the Son of *Silvius*; he of *Aſcanius*; whoſe Father was *Æneas a Trojan Prince*, who at the burning of that City, with his Son *Aſcanius*, and a collected number that eſcap'd, after long wandring on the Sea, arriv'd in *Italy*. Where at length by the aſſiſtance of *Latinus King of Latium*, who had giv'n him *his Daughter Lavinia*, he obtain'd to ſucceed in that Kingdom, and left it to *Aſcanius*, whoſe Son *Silvius* (though *Roman* Hiſtories deny *Silvius* to be Son of *Aſcanius*) had maried ſecretly a Neece of *Lavinia*.

Henry of *Huntingdon*. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*.

She being with Child, the matter became known to *Aſcanius*. Who commanding his *Magicians to enquire by Art, what ſex the Maid had conceiv'd*, had anſwer, *that it was one who ſhould be the death of both his Parents; and baniſh'd for the fact, ſhould after all in a farr Country attain to higheſt honour*. The prediction fail'd not, for in travel the Mother di'd. And *Brutus* (the Child was ſo call'd) at fifteen years of Age, attending his Father to the Chace, with an arrow unfortunately kill'd him.

Baniſh'd therefore by his kindred he retires into *Greece*. Where meeting with the race of *Helenus King Priams Son*, held there in ſervile condition by *Pandraſus then King*, with them he abides. For *Pirrhus* in revenge of his Father ſlain at *Troy* had brought thither with him *Helenus*, and many others into ſervitude. There *Brutus* among his own ſtock ſo thrives in vertue and in Arms, as renders him belov'd to Kings, and great Captains above all the Youth of that Land. Wherby the *Trojans* not only beginn to hope, but ſecretly to move him, that he would lead them the way to liberty. They allege their

their numbers, and the promis'd help of *Aſſaracus* a Noble Greekiſh Youth, by the Mothers ſide a *Trojan*; whom for that cauſe his Brother went about to diſpoſſeſs of certain Caſtles bequeath'd him by his Father. *Brutus* conſidering both the Forces offer'd him, and the ſtrength of thoſe Holds, not unwillingly conſents.

Firſt therfore having fortifi'd thoſe Caſtles, he with *Aſſaracus* and the whole multitude betake them to the Woods and Hills; as the ſafeſt place from whence to expoſtulate; and in the name of all ſends to *Pandraſus* this Meſſage; *That the* Trojans *holding it unworthy thir Anceſtors to ſerv in a Foren Kingdom, had retreated to the Woods; chooſing rather a Savage life then a ſlaviſh; If that diſpleas'd him, that then with his leave they might depart to ſome other ſoil.*

As this may paſs with good allowance, that the *Trojans* might be many in theſe parts, for *Helenus* was by *Pirrhus* made King of the *Chaonians*, and the Sons of *Pirrhus* by *Andromache Hectors Wife* could not but be powerful through all *Epirus*, ſo much the more it may be doubted, how theſe *Trojans* could be thus in bondage, where they had Freinds and Country-men ſo Potent. But to examin theſe things with diligence, were but to confute the Fables of *Britan* with the Fables of *Greece* or *Italy*; for of this Age, what we have to ſay, as well concerning moſt other Countries, as this Iland, is equally under Queſtion. Bee't how it will, *Pandraſus* not expecting ſo bold a meſſage from the Sons of Captives, gathers an Army. And marching toward the Woods, *Brutus* who had notice of his approach nigh to a Town call'd *Sparatinum*, (I know not what Towne, but certaine of no Greek name) over night planting himſelf there with good part of his men, ſuddenly ſets upon him, and with ſlaughter

ſlaughter of the *Greeks* purſues him to the paſſage of a River, which mine Author names *Akalon*, meaning perhaps *Achelous*, or *Acheron:* where at the Ford he overlaies them afreſh. This victory obtain'd, and a ſufficient ſtrength left in *Sparatinum*, *Brutus* with *Antigonus*, the Kings Brother and his Freind *Anacletus*, whom he had tak'n in the fight, returns to the reſidue of his freinds in the thick Woods. While *Pandraſus* with all ſpeed recollecting, beſeiges the Town. *Brutus* to releive his men beſeig'd, who earneſtly call'd him, diſtruſting the ſufficiency of his force, bethinks himſelf of this Policy. Calls to him *Anacletus*, and threatning inſtant death elſe, both to him and his freind *Antigonus*, enjoyns him, that he ſhould goe at the ſecond howr of night to the Greek'ſh Leagre, and tell the Guards he had brought *Antigonus* by ſtealth out of Priſon to a certain woody Vale; unable through the waight of his Fetters to move furder: entreating them to come ſpeedily and fetch him in. *Anacletus* to ſave both himſelf and his freind *Antigonus*, ſwears this; and at fit howr ſetts on alone toward the Camp: is mett, examin'd, and at laſt unqueſtionably known. To whom, great profeſſion of fidelity firſt made, he frames his Tale, as had bin taught him: and they now fully aſſur'd, with a credulous raſhneſs leaving thir Stations, far'd accordingly by the ambuſh that there awaited them. Forthwith *Brutus* dividing his men into three parts, leads on in ſilence to the Camp; commanding firſt each part at a ſeveral place to enter, and forbear Execution, till he with his Squadron poſſeſs'd of the Kings Tent, gave Signal to them by Trumpet. The ſound whereof no ſooner heard, but huge havock begins upon the ſleeping, and unguarded Enemy; whom the beſeiged alſo now ſally-

ing forth, on the other ſide aſſaile. *Brutus* the while had ſpecial care to ſeiſe and ſecure the *Kings Perſon*; whoſe life ſtill within his Cuſtody, he knew was the ſureſt pledge to obtain what he ſhould demand. Day appearing, he enters the Town, there diſtributes the *Kings Treaſury*, and leaving the place better fortify'd, returns with the King his Priſner to the Woods. Strait the ancient and grave men he ſummons to Counſell, what they ſhould now demand of the *King*.

After long debate *Mempricius*, one of the graveſt, utterly diſſuading them from thought of longer ſtay in *Greece*, unleſſe they meant to be deluded with a ſuttle peace, and the awaited revenge of thoſe whoſe freinds they had ſlain, adviſes them to demand firſt the *Kings Eldeſt Daughter Innogen* in mariage to thir Leader *Brutus*, with a rich dowry, next ſhipping, mony, and fitt proviſion for them all to depart the Land.

This reſolution pleaſing beſt, the King now brought in, and plac'd in a high Seat, is breifly told, that on theſe conditions granted, he might be free, not granted, he muſt prepare to die.

Preſt with fear of death the *King* readily yeelds: eſpecially to beſtow his Daughter on whom he confeſs'd ſo Noble and ſo Valiant: offers them alſo the third part of his Kingdom, if they like to ſtay; if not, to be thir Hoſtage himſelf, till he had made good his word.

The Mariage therfore ſolemniz'd, and ſhipping from all parts got together, the *Trojans* in a Fleet, no leſs writt'n then three hunderd fowr and twenty Sail, betake them to the wide Sea; where with a proſperous courſe two daies and a night bring them on a certain Iland long before diſpeopl'd and left waſt by Sea-Roavers; the name wherof was then *Leogecia*, now unknow'n. They who were ſent out to diſcover,

ver, came at length to a ruin'd City; where was a Temple and Image of *Diana* that gave Oracles: but not meeting firſt or laſt ſave wild Beaſts, they return with this notice to thir Ships: Wiſhing thir General would enquire of that Oracle what voiage to purſue.

Conſultation had, *Brutus* taking with him *Gerion* his Diviner, and twelv of the ancienteſt, with wonted Ceremonies before the inward ſhrine of the Goddeſs, in Verſe, as it ſeems the manner was, utters his requeſt, *Diva potens nemorum*, &c.

Goddeſs of Shades, and Huntreſs, who at will
Walk'ſt on the rowling Sphear, and through the deep,
On thy third Reigne the Earth look now, and tell
What Land, what Seat of reſt thou bidſt me ſeek,
What certain Seat, where I may worſhip thee
For aye, with Temples vow'd, and Virgin quires.

To whom ſleeping before the Altar, *Diana* in a Viſion that night thus anſwer'd, *Brute ſub occaſum Solis*, &c.

Brutus *far to the Weſt, in th' Ocean wide*
Beyond the Realm of Gaul, *a Land there lies,*
Sea-girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old,
Now void, it fitts thy people; thether bend
Thy courſe, there ſhalt thou find a laſting ſeat,
There to thy Sons another Troy *ſhall riſe,*
And Kings *be born of thee, whoſe dredded might*
Shall aw the World, and Conquer Nations bold.

Theſe Verſes Originally Greek, were put in Latin, ſaith *Virunnius*, by *Gildas* a Britiſh Poet, and him to have liv'd under *Claudius*. Which granted true,

adds much to the Antiquitie of this Fable; and indeed the Latin Verſes are much better, then for the Age of *Geoffrey* ap-*Arthur*, unleſs perhaps *Joſeph of Exeter*, the only ſmooth Poet of thoſe times, befreinded him; in this *Diana* overſhot her Oracle thus ending, *Ipſis totius terræ ſubditus orbis erit*, That to the race of *Brute* Kings of this Iland, the whole Earth ſhall be ſubject.

But *Brutus* guided now, as he thought, by divine conduct, ſpeeds him towards the Weſt; and after ſom encounters on the *Afric* ſide, arrives at a place on the *Tyrrhen* Sea; where he happ'ns to find the Race of thoſe *Trojans* who with *Antenor* came into *Italy*; and *Corineus* a man much fam'd, was thir Cheif: though by ſurer Authors it be reported, that thoſe *Trojans* with *Antenor*, were ſeated on the other ſide of *Italie*, on the *Adriatic*, not the *Tyrrhen* ſhoar. But theſe joyning Company, and paſt the *Herculean Pillars*, at the mouth of *Ligeris in Aquitania* caſt Anchor, Where after ſom diſcovery made of the place, *Corineus* Hunting nigh the ſhoar with his Men, is by Meſſengers of the King *Goffarius Pictus* mett, and queſtion'd about his Errand there. Who not anſwering to thir mind, *Imbertus*, one of them, lets fly an Arrow at *Corineus*, which he avoiding, ſlaies him: and the *Pictavian* himſelf heerupon levying his whole Force, is overthrown by *Brutus*, and *Corineus*; who with the Battell Ax which he was wont to manage againſt the *Tyrrhen Giants* is ſaid to have done marvells. But *Goffarius* having draw'n to his aid the whole Country of *Gaul*, at that time govern'd by *twelv Kings*, puts his Fortune to a ſecond Trial, Wherin the *Trojans* over-born by multitude, are driv'n back, and beſeigd in thir own Camp, which by good foreſight

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was ſtrongly ſituate. Whence *Brutus* unexpectedly iſſuing out, and *Corineus* in the mean while, whoſe device it was, aſſaulting them behind from a Wood, where he had convayd his men the night before: The *Trojans* are again Victors, but with the loſs of *Turon* a Valiant Nefew of *Brutus*; whoſe Aſhes left in that place, gave name to the City of *Tours*, built there by the *Trojans*. *Brutus* finding now his powers much leſsn'd, and this yet not the place foretold him, leavs *Aquitain*, and with an eaſie courſe, arriving at *Totneſs* in *Dev'nſhire*, quickly perceivs heer to be the promis'd end of his labours.

The Iland not yet *Britain* but *Albion*, was in a manner deſert and inhoſpitable; kept only by a remnant of *Giants*; whoſe exceſſive Force and Tyranie had conſum'd the reſt. Them *Brutus* deſtroies, and to his people divides the Land, which with ſom reference to his own name he thenceforth calls *Britain*. To *Corineus*, *Cornwal*, as now we call it, fell by Lot; the rather by him lik't, for that the hugeſt Giants, in Rocks and Caves were ſaid to lurk ſtill there; which kind of Monſters to deal with was his old exerciſe.

And heer, with leave be-ſpok'n to recite a grand Fable, though dignify'd by our beſt Poets; while *Brutus* on a certain Feſtival day ſolemnly kept on that ſhoar, where he firſt landed, was with the people in great jollity and mirth, a crew of theſe Savages breaking in upon them, began on the ſuddain another ſort of Game then at ſuch a meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, *Goëmagog* the hugeſt, in higth twelv Cubits, is reſerv'd alive; that with him *Corineus*, who deſir'd nothing more, might try his ſtrength; Whom in a Wreſtle the Giant catching aloft, with a terrible hugg broke three

of

of his Ribs: nevertheleſs *Corineus* enrag'd, heaving him up by main force, and on his Shoulders bearing him to the next high Rock, threw him headlong all ſhatter'd into the Sea, and left his name on the Cliff, call'd ever ſince *Langoëmagog*, which is to ſay, the Giants leap.

After this, *Brutus* in a choſen place builds *Troia nova*, chang'd in time to *Trinovantum*, now *London*: and began to enact Laws; *Heli* beeing then high Preiſt in *Judæa*: and having govern'd the whole Ile 24 Years, dy'd, and was buried in his new *Troy*. His three Sons *Locrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber* divide the Land by conſent. *Locrine* had the middle part *Loëgria*; *Camber* poſſeſs'd *Cambria* or *Wales*; *Albanact Albania*, now *Scotland*. But he in the end by *Humber* King of the *Hunns*, who with a Fleet invaded that Land, was ſlain in fight, and his people driv'n back into *Loëgria*. *Locrine* and his Brother goe out againſt *Humber*; who now marching onward, was by them defeated, and in a River drown'd, which to this day retains his name. Among the ſpoils of his Camp and Navy, were found certain young Maids, and *Eſtrildis*, above the reſt, paſſing fair; the Daughter of a *King in Germany*; from whence *Humber*, as he went waſting the Sea-Coaſt, had led her Captive: whom *Locrine*, though before contracted to the Daughter of *Corineus*, reſolvs to marry. But beeing forc'd and threatn'd by *Corineus*, whoſe Autority, and power he fear'd, *Guendolen* the Daughter he yeelds to marry, but in ſecret loves the other: and oft-times retiring as to ſom privat Sacrifice, through Vaults and paſſages made under ground; and ſeven years thus enjoying her, had by her a Daughter equally fair, whoſe name was *Sabra*. But when once his fear was off by the Death of *Corineus*, not

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content with ſecret enjoyment, divorcing *Guendolen*, he makes *Eſtrildis* now his Queen. *Guendolen* all in rage departs into *Cornwall*; where *Madan*, the Son ſhe had by *Locrine*, was hitherto brought up by *Corineus* his Grandfather. And gathering an Army of her Fathers Freinds and Subjects, gives Battail to her Huſband by the River *Sture*; wherin *Locrine* ſhot with an Arrow ends his life. But not ſo ends the fury of *Guendolen*; for *Eſtrildis* and her Daughter *Sabra*, ſhe throws into a River: and to leave a Monument of revenge, proclaims, that the ſtream be thenceforth call'd after the Damſels name; which by length of time is chang'd now to *Sabrina*, or *Severn*.

Fifteen Years ſhe governs in behalf of her Son; then reſigning to him at Age, retires to her Fathers Dominion. This ſaith my Author, was in the daies of *Samuel*. *Madan* hath the praiſe to have well and peacefully rul'd the ſpace of 40 years; leaving behind him two Sons, *Mempricius*, and *Malim*. *Mempricius* had firſt to doe with the ambition of his Brother, aſpiring to ſhare with him in the Kingdom; whom therfore at a meeting to compoſe matters, with a treachery which his cauſe needed not, he ſlew.

Nor was he better in the ſole poſſeſſion, wherof ſo ill he could endure a Partner, killing his Nobles, and thoſe eſpecially next to ſucceed him; till laſtly giv'n over to unnaturall luſt, in the twentith of his Reigne, hunting in a Foreſt, he was devowr'd by Wolves.

His Son *Ebranc* a man of mighty ſtrength and ſtature, Reign'd 40 Years. He firſt after *Brutus* waſted *Gaul*; and returning rich and proſperous, builded *Caerebranc*, now *York*; in *Albania Alclud*, *Mount Agned*,

Agned, or the Caſtle of Maydens, now Edinburgh. He had 20 Sons and 30 Daughters by 20 Wives. His Daughters he ſent to *Silvius Alba* into *Italy*, who beſtow'd them on his Peers of the *Trojan* Line. His Sons under the leading of *Aſſaracus* thir Brother, won them Lands and Signories in *Germany*; thence call'd, from theſe Brethren *Germania*: a derivation too haſtily ſuppos'd, perhaps before the word *Germannus* or the Latin Tongue was in uſe. Som who have deſcrib'd *Henault*, as *Jacobus Bergomas*, and *Leſſabeus*, are cited to affirm that *Ebrauk* in his Warre there, was by *Brunchildis Lord of Henault* put to the worſe.

Brutus therfore ſurnamed *Greenſhield* ſucceeding, to repair his Fathers loſſes, as the ſame *Leſſabeus* reports, fought a ſecond Battail in *Henault* with *Brunchild* at the mouth of *Scaldis*, and Encamp'd on the River *Hania*. Of which *our Spencer* alſo thus Sings.

Let Scaldis *tell, and let tell* Hania,
And let the Marſh of Eſthambruges *tell*
What colour were thir Waters that ſame day,
And all the Moar twixt Elverſham *and* Dell,
With blood of Henalois *which therin fell;*
How oft that day did ſad Brunchildis *ſee*
The Greenſhield *dy'd in dolorous Vermeil*, &c.

But *Henault*, and *Brunchild*, and *Greeneſheild*, ſeeme newer names then for a Story pretended thus Antient.

Him ſucceeded *Leil*, a maintainer of Peace and Equity; but ſlackn'd in his latter end, whence aroſe ſom civil diſcord. He built in the North *Cairleil*; and in the daies of *Solomon*.

Rudhuddibras, or *Hudibras* appeaſing the commotions which his Father could not, fownded *Caerkeynt* or *Canturbury*, *Caerguent*, or *Wincheſter*, and *Mount Paladur*,

Paladur, now *Septonia* or *Shafisbury*: but this by others is contradicted.

Bladud his Son built *Caerbadus* or *Bathe*, and thoſe medcinable Waters he dedicated to *Minerva*, in whoſe Temple there he kept fire continually burning. He was a man of great invention, and taught Necromancie: till having made him Wings to fly, he fell down upon the Temple of *Apollo* in *Trinovant*, and ſo dy'd after twenty years Reigne.

Hitherto from Father to Son the direct Line hath run on: but *Leir* who next Reign'd, had only three Daughters, and no Male Iſſue: govern'd laudably, and built *Caer-Leir*, now *Leiceſtre*, on the Bank of *Sora*. But at laſt, failing through Age, he determines to beſtow his Daughters, and ſo among them to divide his Kingdom. Yet firſt to try which of them lov'd him beſt (a Trial that might have made him, had he known as wiſely how to try, as he ſeem'd to know how much the trying behoov'd him) *he reſolves a ſimple reſolution, to ask them ſolemly in order; and which of them ſhould profeſs largeſt her to beleev. Gonorill* th' Eldeſt apprehending too well her Fathers weakneſs, makes anſwer invoking Heav'n, *That ſhe lov'd him above her Soul. Therfore*, quoth the old man overjoy'd, *ſince thou ſo honourſt my declin'd Age, to thee and the Husband whom thou ſhalt chooſe, I give the third part of my Realm.* So fair a ſpeeding for a few words ſoon utter'd, was to *Regan* the ſecond, ample inſtruction what to ſay. She on the ſame demand ſpares no proteſting, and the Gods muſt witneſs, that otherwiſe to expreſs her thoughts ſhe knew not, but that *ſhe lov'd him above all Creatures*; and ſo receavs an equal reward with her Siſter. But *Cordelia* the youngeſt, though hitherto beſt belov'd, and now before her Eyes the

rich and preſent hire of a little eaſie ſoothing, the danger alſo, and the loſs likely to betide plain dealing, yet moves not from the ſolid purpoſe of a ſincere and vertuous anſwer. *Father*, ſaith ſhe, *my love towards you, is as my duty bids; what ſhould a Father ſeek, what can a Child promiſe more? they who pretend beyond this, flatter.* When the old man, ſorry to hear this, and wiſhing her to recall thoſe words, perſiſted aſking, with a loiall ſadneſs at her Fathers infirmity, but ſomthing on the ſudden, harſh, and glancing rather at her Siſters, then ſpeaking her own mind, *Two waies only*, ſaith ſhe, *I have to anſwer what you require mee; the former, Your command is, I ſhould recant; accept then this other which is left mee; look how much you have, ſo much is your value, and ſo much I love you. Then hear thou*, quoth *Leir* now all in paſſion, *what thy ingratitude hath gain'd thee; becauſe thou haſt not reverenc'd thy aged Father equall to thy Siſters, part in my Kingdom, or what elſe is mine reck'n to have none.* And without delay gives in mariage his other Daughters, *Gonorill* to *Maglaunus* Duke of *Albania*, *Regan* to *Henninus* Duke of *Cornwall*; with them in preſent half his Kingdom; the reſt to follow at his Death. In the mean while Fame was not ſparing to divulge the wiſdom, and other Graces of *Cordeilla*, inſomuch that *Aganippus a great King in Gaul* (however he came by his Greek name) ſeeks her to Wife, and nothing alter'd at the loſs of her Dowry, receavs her gladly in ſuch manner as ſhe was ſent him. After this *King Leir*, more and more drooping with Years, became an eaſy prey to his Daughters and thir Huſbands; who now by dayly encroachment had feis'd the whole Kingdom into thir hands: and the

old

old King is put to ſojorn with his Eldeſt Daughter, attended only by threeſcore Knights. But they in a ſhort while grudg'd at, as too numerous and diſorderly for continuall Gueſts, are reduc'd to thirty. Not brooking that affront, the old King betakes him to his ſecond Daughter: but there alſo diſcord ſoon ariſing between the Servants of differing Maſters in one Family, five only are ſuffer'd to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other; hoping that ſhe his Eldeſt could not but have more pity on his Gray Hairs: but ſhe now refuſes to admitt him, unleſs he be content with one only of his followers. At laſt the remembrance of his youngeſt *Cordeilla* comes to his thoughts; and now acknowledging how true her words had bin, though with little hope from whom he had ſo injur'd, be it but to pay her the laſt recompence ſhe can have from him, his confeſſion of her wiſe forewarning, that ſo perhaps his miſery, the prooff and experiment of her Wiſdom, might ſomthing ſoft'n her, he takes his Journey into *France*. Now might be ſeen a difference between the ſilent, or down-right ſpok'n affection of ſom Children to thir Parents, and the talkative obſequiouſneſs of others; while the hope of Inheritance over-acts them, and on the Tongues end enlarges thir duty. *Cordeilla* out of meer love, without the ſuſpicion of expected reward, at the meſſage only of her Father in diſtreſs, powrs forth true filial tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other Eye ſhould ſee him in ſuch forlorn condition as his Meſſenger declar'd, diſcreetly appoints one of her truſted Servants, firſt to convay him privately toward ſom good Sea Town, there to array him, bathe him, cheriſh him, furniſh him with ſuch Attendance and State, as

beſeemd his Dignity. That then, as from his firſt Landing, he might ſend word of his Arrival to her Husband *Aganippus*. Which don with all mature, and requiſite contrivance, *Cordelia* with the King her Huſband, and all the Barony of his Realm, who then firſt had news of his paſſing the Sea, goe out to meet him; and after all honourable and joyfull entertainment, *Aganippus*, as to his Wives Father, and his Royall Gueſt, ſurrenders him, during his abode there, the power, and diſpoſal of his whole Dominion: permitting his Wife *Cordeilla* to go with an Army, and ſet her Father upon his Throne. Wherin her piety ſo proſper'd, as that ſhe vanquiſh'd her impious Siſters with thoſe Dukes, and *Leir* again, as ſaith the ſtory, three years obtain'd the Crown. To whom dying, *Cordeilla* with all regal Solemnities gave Burial in the Town of *Leiceſtre*. And then as right Heir ſucceeding, and her Huſband dead, rul'd the Land five years in Peace. Untill *Marganus* and *Cunedagius* her two Siſters Sons, not bearing that a Kingdom ſhould be govern'd by a Woman, in the unſeaſonableſt time to raiſe that quarrel againſt a Woman ſo worthy, make War againſt her, depoſe her, and impriſon her; of which impatient, and now long unexercis'd to ſuffer, ſhe there, as is related, killd her ſelf. The Victors between them part the Land: but *Marganus* the Eldeſt Siſters Son, who held by agreement from the North-ſide of *Humber* to *Cathneſs*, incited by thoſe about him, to invade all as his own right, warres on *Cunedagius*; who ſoon met him, overcame, and overtook him in a Town of *Wales*, where he left his life, and ever ſince his name to the place.

Cunedagius was now ſole King, and govern'd with much

much praiſe many years; about the time when *Rome* was built.

Him ſucceeded *Rivallo* his Son, wiſe alſo and fortunat; ſave what they tell us of three daies raining blood, and ſwarmes of ſtinging Flies, whereof men dy'd. In order then *Gurguſtius*, *Jago* or *Lago*, his Nefew; *Siſillius*, *Kinmarcus*. Then *Gorbogudo*, whom others name *Gorbodego*, and *Gorbodion*, who had two Sons, *Ferrex*, and *Porrex*. They in the old Age of thir Father falling to contend who ſhould ſucceed, *Porrex* attempting by treachery his Brothers life, drives him into *France*; and in his return though aided with the force of that Country, defeats and ſlaies him. But by his Mother *Videna* who leſs lov'd him, is himſelf, with the aſſiſtance of her Women, ſoon after ſlain in his Bed: With whom ended, as is thought, the Line of *Brutus*. Whereupon, the whole Land with civil broils was rent into five Kingdoms, long time waging Warr each on other; and ſom ſay 50 Years. At length *Dunwallo Molmutius* the Son of *Cloten King of Cornwall*, one of the foreſaid five, excelling in valour, and goodlineſs of perſon, after his Fathers deceaſe found means to reduce again the whole Iland into a Monarchy: ſubduing the reſt at opportunities. Firſt *Yuner King of Loegria* whom he ſlew; then *Rudaucus of Cambria*, *Staterius of Albania*, confederat together. In which fight *Dunwallo is reported*, while the Victory hung doubtfull, to have us'd this Art. He takes with him 600 Stout men, bids them put on the Armour of thir ſlain Enemies; and ſo unexpectedly approaching the Squadron, where thoſe two Kings had plac'd themſelvs in fight, from that part which they thought ſecureſt, aſſaults, and diſpatches them. Then diſplaying his own Enſignes which before he had conceal'd, and ſending notice

to

to the other part of his Army what was don, adds to them new courage, and gains a final Victory. This *Dunwallo was the firſt in Britain that wore a Crown of Gold; and therfore by ſom reputed the firſt King.* He eſtabliſhed the *Molmutine* Laws, famous among the Engliſh to this day; writt'n long after in Latine by *Gildas*, and in Saxon by King *Alfred*: ſo ſaith *Geofrey*, but *Gildas* denies to have known aught of the *Britans* before *Cæſar*; much leſs knew *Alfred.* Theſe Laws, whoever made them, beſtow'd on Temples the privilege of Sanctuary; to Cities alſo, and the waies thether leading, yea to Plows granted a kind of like refuge: and made ſuch riddance of Theeves and Robbers, that all paſſages were ſafe. Forty Years he Govern'd alone, and was buried nigh to *the Temple of Concord*; which he, to the memory of peace reſtor'd, had built in *Trinovant.*

His two Sons *Belinus* and *Brennus* contending about the Crown, by deciſion of Freinds came at length to an accord; *Brennus* to have the North of *Humber*, *Belinus* the Sovrantie of all. But the younger not long ſo contented, that he, as they whiſper'd to him, whoſe valour had ſo oft repell'd the invaſions of *Ceulphus the Morine Duke*, ſhould now be ſubject to his Brother, upon new Deſigne ſails into *Norway*; enters League and Affinitie with *Elling* that King; which *Belinus* perceaving, in his abſence diſpoſſeſes him of all the North. *Brennus* with a Fleet of *Norwegians* makes toward *Britain*; but encounter'd by *Guithlac* the *Daniſh King*, who laying claim to his Bride, purſu'd him on the Sea, his haſt was retarded, and he bereſt of his Spouſe: who from the fight by a ſudden Tempeſt, was by the *Daniſh King* driv'n on *Northumberland*, and brought to

Belinus.

Belinus. *Brennus* nevertheleſs recollecting his Navy, lands in *Albania*, and gives Battell to his Brother in the Wood *Calaterium*; but looſing the day, eſcapes with one ſingle Ship into *Gaul*. Mean while the *Dane* upon his own offer to become tributary, ſent home with his new priſe, *Belinus* returns his thoughts to the adminiſtring of Juſtice, and the perfeting of his Fathers Laws; and to explain what High-waies might enjoy the foreſaid privileges, he caus'd to be drawn out and pav'd fowr main Roades to the utmoſt length and bredth of the Iland; and two others athwart; which are ſince attributed to the *Romans*. *Eren-Brennus* on the other ſide ſolliciting to his aid the Kings of *Gaul*, happ'ns at laſt on *Seginus Duke of the Allobreges*; where his worth, and comlineſs of perſon wan him the Dukes Daughter and Heir. In whoſe right he ſhortly ſucceeding, and by obtain'd leave paſſing with a great Hoſt through the length of *Gaul*, gets footing once again in *Britain*. Nor was *Belinus* unprepar'd, and now the Battell ready to joyn, *Conuvenna* the Mother of them both all in a fright, throws her ſelf between; and calling earneſtly to *Brennus* her Son, whoſe abſence had ſo long depriv'd her of his ſight, after imbracements and teares, aſſails him with ſuch a motherly power, and the mention of things ſo dear and reverend, as irreſiſtibly wrung from him all his enmity againſt *Belinus*.

Then are hands joyn'd, reconciliation made firm, and Counſel held to turn thir united preparations on Foren parts. Thence that by theſe two all *Gallia* was overrun, the ſtory tells; and what they did in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, if theſe be they, and not *Gauls*, who took that City, the Roman Authors can beſt relate.

late. So far from home I undertake not for the *Monmouth Chronicle*; which heer againſt the ſtream of Hiſtory carries up and down theſe Brethren, now into *Germany*, then again to *Rome*, purſuing *Gabius* and *Porſena*, two unheard of Conſuls. Thus much is more generally beleev'd, that both this *Erennus*, and another famous Captain, *Eritomarus*, whom the Epitomiſt *Florus* and others mention, were not *Gauls* but *Britans*; the name of the firſt in that Tongue ſignifying a King, and of the other a Great *Britan*. However *Belinus* after a while returning home, the reſt of his daies rul'd in Peace, Wealth, and Honour above all his Predeceſſors; building ſom Cities, of which one was *Caeroſe* upon *Oſca*, ſince *Caerlegion*; beautifying others, as *Trinovant* with a Gate, a Hav'n, and a Towr, on the Thames, retaining yet his name; on the top wherof his Aſhes are ſaid to have bin laid up in a Golden Urne.

After him *Gurguntius Barbirus* was King, mild and juſt, but yet inheriting his Fathers Courage, he ſubdu'd the *Dacian*, or *Dane*, who refus'd to pay the Tribute Covnanted to *Belinus* for his enlargement. In his return finding about the *Orkneies* 30 Ships of *Spain*, or *Biſcay*, fraught with Men and Women for a Plantation, whoſe Captain alſo *Bartholinus* wrongfully baniſh't, as he pleaded, beſaught him that ſom part of his Territory might be aſſign'd them to dwell in, he ſent with them certain of his own men to *Ireland*, which then lay unpeopl'd; and gave them that Iland to hold of him as in Homage. He was buried in *Caerlegion*, a City which he had wall'd about.

Guitheline his Son, is alſo remember'd, as a juſt and good Prince, and his Wife *Martia* to have excell'd ſo much in wiſdom, as to venture upon a new Inſtitution

Inſtitution of Laws. Which *King Alfred* tranſlating call'd *Marchen Leage*, but more truly therby is meant, the Mertian Law; not tranſlated by *Alfred*, but digeſted or incorporated with the Weſt-Saxon. In the minority of her Son ſhe had the rule, and then, as may be ſuppos'd, brought forth theſe Laws, not her ſelf, for Laws are Maſculin Births, but by the advice of her ſageſt Counſelors; and therin ſhe might doe vertuouſly, ſince it befell her to ſupply the nonage of her Son: elſe nothing more awry from the Law of God and Nature, then that a Woman ſhould give Laws to Men.

Hir Son *Siſilius* comming to Yeares receav'd the Rule; then in order *Kimarus*, then *Danius* or *Elanius* his Brother. Then *Morindus*, his Son by *Tangueſtela* a Concubine, who is recorded a man of exceſſive Strength, Valiant, Liberal, and fair of Aſpect, but immanely Cruell; not ſparing in his Anger, Enemy, or Freind, if any Weapon were in his hand. A certain *King of the Morines*, or *Picards* invaded *Northumberland*; whoſe Army this King, though not wanting ſufficient numbers, cheifly by his own proweſs overcame: But diſhonour'd his Victory by the cruel uſage of his Priſners, whom his own hands, or others in his preſence put all to ſeveral Deaths: well fitted to ſuch a beſtiall Cruelty was his end; for hearing of a huge Monſter that from the Iriſh Sea infeſted the Coaſt, and in the Pride of his Strength fooliſhly attempting to ſet manly valour againſt a Brute vaſtneſs, when his Weapons were all in vain, by that horrible mouth he was catch't up and devour'd.

Gorbonian the Eldeſt of his five Sons, then whom a Juſter man liv'd not in his Age, was a great builder

of Temples, and gave to all what was thir due; to his Gods devout Worſhip, to men of deſert honour and preferment, to the Commons encouragement in thir Labours, and Trades, defence and protection from injuries and oppreſſions, ſo that the Land floriſh'd above her Neighbours, Violence and Wrong ſeldom was heard of: his Death was a general loſs: he was buried in *Trinovant*.

Archigallo the ſecond Brother follow'd not his Example; but depreſs'd the ancient Nobility, and by peeling the wealthier ſort, ſtuff'd his Treaſury, and took the right way to be depos'd.

Elidure the next Brother, ſurnam'd the Pious, was ſet up in his place; a mind ſo noble, and ſo moderat, as almoſt is incredible to have bin ever found. For having held the Scepter five Years, hunting one day in the Foreſt of *Calater*, he chanc'd to meet his depoſed Brother, wandring in mean condition: who had bin long in vain beyond the Seas, importuning Foren aides to his Reſtorement: and was now in a poor Habit, with only ten followers, privatly return'd to find ſubſiſtence among his ſecret freinds. At the unexpected ſight of him, *Elidure* himſelf alſo then but thinly accompanied, runns to him with open Arms; and after many dear and ſincere welcomings, convaies him to the Citty *Alclud*; there hides him in his own Bed-Chamber. Afterwards faining himſelf ſick, ſummons all his Peers as about greateſt affairs; where admitting them one by one, as if his weakneſs endur'd not the diſturbance of more at once, cauſes them willing, or unwilling, once more to ſwear Allegiance to *Archigallo*. Whom after reconciliation made on all ſides, he leads to *York*; and from his own Head, places the Crown on the Head of his Brother.

Who

Who thenceforth, Vice it ſelf diſſolving in him, and forgetting her firmeſt hold with the admiration of a deed ſo Heroic, became a true converted man; rul'd worthily 10 Years; dy'd, and was Buried in *Cærleir*. Thus was a Brother ſav'd by a Brother, to whom love of a Crown, the thing that ſo often dazles, and vitiats mortal men, for which, thouſands of neereſt blood have deſtroy'd each other, was in reſpect of Brotherly dearneſs, a contemptible thing.

Elidure now in his own behalf re-aſſumes the Government, and did as was worthy ſuch a man to doe. When providence, that ſo great vertue might want no ſort of trial to make it more illuſtrious, ſtirs up *Vigenius*, and *Peredure* his youngeſt Brethren, againſt him who had deſerv'd ſo nobly of that relation, as leſt of all by a Brother to be injur'd. Yet him they defeat, him they Impriſon in the Towr of *Trinovant*, and divide his Kingdom; the North to *Peredure*, the South to *Vigenius*. After whoſe Death *Peredure* obtaining all, ſo much the better us'd his power, by how much the worſe he got it. So that *Elidure* now is hardly miſs't. But yet in all right owing to his Elder the due place wherof he had depriv'd him, Fate would that he ſhould die firſt: and *Elidure* after many years Impriſonment, is now the third time ſeated on the Throne; which at laſt he enjoy'd long in Peace; finiſhing the interrupted courſe of his mild, and juſt Reign, as full of vertuous deeds, as daies to his end.

After theſe five Sons of *Morindus*, ſucceeded alſo thir Sons in Order. * *Regin of Gorbonian*, *Margamus of Archigallo*, both good Kings. But *Enniaunus* his Brother taking other courſes, was after ſix years depos'd. Then *Idwallo* taught by a neer Example, * *Matthew Weſtmin.*

Govern'd ſoberly. Then *Runno*, then *Geruntius*, He of *Peredure*, this laſt the Son of *Elidure*. From whoſe Loyns (for that likely is the durable, and ſurviving Race that ſprings of juſt Progenitors) iſſu'd a long deſcent of Kings, whoſe names only for many ſucceſſions without other memory ſtand thus regiſter'd, *Catellus*, *Coillus*, *Porrex*, *Cherin*, and his three Sons, *Fulgenius*, *Eldadus*, and *Andragius*, his Son *Urianus*; *Eliud*, *Eledaucus*, *Clotenus*, *Gurguntius*, *Merianus*, *Bleduno*, *Capis*, *Oënus*, *Siſillius*, twentie Kings in a continu'd row, that either did nothing, or liv'd in Ages that wrote nothing, at leaſt a foul pretermiſſion in the Author of this, whether Story or Fable; himſelf wearie, as ſeems, of his own tedious Tale.

But to make amends for this Silence, *Blegabredus* next ſucceeding, is recorded to have excell'd all before him in the Art of Muſic; oppertunely, had he but left us one Song of his 20 Predeceſſors doings.

Yet after him nine more ſucceeded in name; His Brother *Archimailus*, *Eldol*, *Redion*, *Rederchius*, *Samulius*, *Peniſſel*, *Pir*, *Capoirus*, but *Cliguellius*, with the addition of Modeſt, Wiſe, and Juſt.

His Son *Heli* Reign'd 40 Years, and had three Sons, *Lud*, *Caſſibelaun*, and *Nennius*. This *Heli* ſeems to be the ſame whom *Ninnius* in his fragment calls *Minocan*; for him he writes to be the Father of *Caſſibelan*. *Lud* was he that enlarg'd, and wall'd about *Trinovant*, there kept his Court, made it the prime City, and call'd it from his own name *Caer-lud*, or *Luds Town*, now *London*. Which, as is alledg'd out of *Gildas*,

Gildas, became matter of great diſſention betwixt him, and his Brother *Nennius*; who took it hainouſly that the name of *Troy* thir ancient Country ſhould be aboliſh'd for any new one. *Lud* was hardy, and bold in Warr, in Peace a jolly Feaſter. He conquer'd many Ilands of the Sea, ſaith *Huntingdon*, and was buried by the Gate which from thence wee call *Ludgate*. His two Sons *Androgens*, and *Tennantius*, were left unto the tuition of *Caſſibelan*; whoſe bounty, and high demeanor ſo wraught with the common people, as got him eaſily the Kingdom tranſferr'd upon himſelf. He nevertheleſs continuing to favour and ſupport his Nefews, conferrs freely upon *Androgens*, *London* with *Kent*, upon *Tennantius*, *Cornwall*: reſerving a ſuperiority both over them, and all the other Princes to himſelf; till the *Romans* for a while circumſcrib'd his power. Thus farr, though leaning only on the cre t of *Geffrey Monmouth*, and his aſſertors, I yet for the ſpecify'd cauſes have thought it not beneath my purpoſe, to relate what I found. Wherto I neither oblige the beleif of other perſon, nor over-haſtily ſubſcribe mine own. Nor have I ſtood with others computing, or collating years and Chronologies, leſt I ſhould be vainly curious about the time and circumſtance of things wherof the ſubſtance is ſo much in doubt. *By this time, like one who had ſet out on his way by night, and travail'd through a Region of ſmooth or idle Dreams, our Hiſtory now arrivs on the Confines, where day-light and truth meet us with a cleer dawn, repreſenting to our view, though at a farr diſtance, true colours and ſhapes.* For albeit, *Cæſar*, whoſe Autority we are now firſt to follow, wanted not who tax'd him of miſ-reporting in his Commentaries, yea in his Civil

Huntingd. L. 1.

Civil Warrs againſt *Pompey*, much more, may wee think, in the *Britiſh affairs*, of whoſe little ſkill in writing he did not eaſily hope to be contradicted, yet now in ſuch variety of good Authors, we hardly can miſs from one hand or other to be ſufficiently inform'd as of things paſt ſo long agoe. *But this will better be referr'd to a ſecond diſcourſe.*

The End of the firſt Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

The Second Book.

I Am now to write of what befell the *Britans* from *fifty and three years before the Birth of our Saviour*, when firſt the *Romans* came in, till the decay and ceaſing of that Empire; a ſtory of much truth, and for the firſt hunderd years and ſomwhat more, collected without much labour. So many and ſo prudent were the Writers, which thoſe two, the civileſt, and the wiſeſt of *European Nations*, both *Italy* and *Greece*, afforded to the actions of that Puiſſant Citty. For worthy deeds are not often deſtitute of worthy relaters: as by a certain Fate great Acts and great Eloquence have moſt commonly gon hand in hand, equalling and honouring

nouring each other in the ſame Ages. 'Tis true that in obſcureſt times, by ſhallow and unſkilfull Writers, the indiſtinct noiſe of many Battels, and devaſtations, of many Kingdoms over-run and loſt, hath come to our Eares. For what wonder, if in all Ages, Ambition and the love of rapine hath ſtirr'd up greedy and violent men to bold attempts in waſting and ruining Warrs, which to poſterity have left the work of Wild Beaſts and Deſtroyers, rather then the Deeds and Monuments of men and Conquerours. But he whoſe juſt and true valour uſes the neceſſity of Warr and Dominion, not to deſtroy but to prevent deſtruction, to bring in liberty againſt Tyrants, Law and Civility among barbarous Nations, knowing that when he Conquers all things elſe, he cannot Conquer *Time*, or *Detraction*, wiſely conſcious of this his want as well as of his worth not to be forgott'n or conceal'd, honours and hath recourſe to the aid of Eloquence, his freindlieſt and beſt ſupply; by whoſe immortal Record his noble deeds, which elſe were tranſitory, becoming fixt and durable againſt the force of Yeares and Generations, he fails not to continue through all Poſterity, over *Envy*, *Death*, and *Time*, alſo victorious. Therfore when the eſteem of Science, and liberal ſtudy waxes low in the Common-wealth, wee may preſume that alſo there all civil Vertue, and worthy action is grown as low to a decline: and then Eloquence, as it were conſorted in the ſame deſtiny, with the decreaſe and fall of vertue corrupts alſo and fades; at leaſt reſignes her office of relating to illiterat and frivolous Hiſtorians; ſuch as the perſons themſelvs both deſerv, and are beſt pleas'd with; whilſt they want either the underſtanding to chooſe better, or the innocence to dare invite the examining, and

ſearch-

ſearching ſtile of an intelligent, and faithfull Writer to the ſurvay of thir unſound exploits, better befreinded by obſcurity then Fame. As for theſe, the only Authors wee have of *Brittiſh* matters, while the power of *Rome* reach'd hither, (for *Gildas* affirms that of the *Roman* times noe *Brittiſh* Writer was in his daies extant, or if any ever were, either burnt by Enemies, or tranſported with ſuch as fled the *Pictiſh* and *Saxon* invaſions) theſe therfore only *Roman* Authors there bee who in the Engliſh Tongue have laid together, as much, and perhaps more then was requiſite to a Hiſtory of *Britain*. So that were it not for leaving an unſightly gap ſo neer to the beginning, I ſhould have judg'd this labour, wherin ſo little ſeems to be requir'd above tranſcription, almoſt ſuperfluous. Notwithſtanding ſince I muſt through it, if ought by diligence may bee added, or omitted, or by other diſpoſing may be more explain'd, or more expreſs'd, I ſhall aſſay.

Julius Cæſar (of whom, and of the *Roman* Free State, more then what appertains, is not here to be diſcours'd) having ſubdu'd moſt part of *Gallia*, which by a potent faction, he had obtain'd of the Senat as his Province for many years, ſtirr'd up with a deſire of adding ſtill more glory to his name, and the whole *Roman* Empire to his ambition, ſom ſay, with a farr meaner and ignobler, the deſire of *Brittiſh* Pearls, whoſe bigneſs he delighted to ballance in his hand, determins, and that upon no unjuſt pretended occaſion, to trie his Force in the Conqueſt alſo of *Britain*. For he underſtood that the *Britans* in moſt of his *Gallian* Warrs had ſent ſupplies againſt him, had receiv'd fugitives of the *Bellovaci* his Enemies, and were call'd over to aid the Cities of *Armorica*, which had the year before conſpir'd all in a new Rebellion. *Suetonius vit. Cæſ.*

Year before Chriſt, 53. Therfore *Cæſar*, though now the Summer well nigh ending, and the ſeaſon unagreeable to tranſport a Warr, yet judg'd it would be great advantage, only to get entrance into the *Ile*, knowledge of the men, the places, the ports, the acceſſes; which then, it ſeems, were eev'n to the *Gauls* thir Neighbours almoſt unknown. For except Merchants and Traders, it is not oft, ſaith he, that any uſe to Travel thether; and to thoſe that doe, beſides the Sea Coaſt, and the Ports next to *Gallia*, nothing elſe is known. But heer I muſt require, as *Pollio* did, the diligence, at leaſt the memory of *Cæſar*: for if it were true, as they of *Rhemes* told him, that *Divitiacus*, not long before, a Puiſſant King of the *Soiſſons*, had *Britain* alſo under his Command, beſides the *Belgian Colonies* which he affirms to have nam'd and peopl'd many Provinces there, if alſo the *Britans* had ſo frequently giv'n them aid in all thir Warrs, if laſtly the *Druid* learning honour'd ſo much among them, were at firſt taught them out of *Britain*, and they who ſooneſt would attain that Diſcipline, ſent hether to learn; it appears not how *Britain* at that time ſhould be ſo utterly unknow'n in *Gallia*, or only know'n to Merchants, yea to them ſo little, that beeing call'd together from all parts, none could be found to inform *Cæſar* of what bigneſs the Ile, what Nations, how great, what uſe of Warr they had, what Laws, or ſo much as what commodious Havens for bigger Veſſels. Of all which things as it were then firſt to make diſcovery, he ſends *Caius Voluſenus*, in a long Galley, with command to return aſſoon as this could be effected. Hee in the mean time with his whole power draws nigh to the *Morine* Coaſt, whence the ſhorteſt paſſage was into *Britain*. Hether his Navy which he us'd againſt the *Armoricans*, and

Suetonius.

Cæſar Com. L. 1.

Cæſar Com. L. 4.

and what elſe of Shipping can be provided, he draws together. This known in *Britain*, Embaſſadors are ſent from many of the States there, who promiſe Hoſtages, and Obedience to the *Roman Empire*. Them, after Audience giv'n, *Cæſar* as largely promiſing, and exhorting to continue in that mind, ſends home, and with them *Comius of Arras*, whom he had made King of that Country, and now ſecretly employ'd to gain a *Roman* party among the *Britans*, in as many Citties as he found inclinable, and to tell them, that he himſelf was ſpeeding thether. *Voluſenus* with what diſcovery of the *Iland* he could make from aboard his Ship, not daring to venture on the ſhoar, within five daies returns to *Cæſar*. Who ſoon after, with two Legions, ordnarily amounting, of *Romans* and thir Allies, to about 25000 *Foot, and* 4500 *Horſe*, the Foot in 80 Ships of burden, the Horſe in 18, beſides what Gallies were appointed for his chief Commanders, ſetts off about the third watch of night with a good Gale to Sea; leaving behind him *Sulpitius Ruſus* to make good the Port with a ſufficient ſtrength. But the Horſe whoſe appointed Shipping lay Wind-bound 8 mile upward in another Hav'n, had much trouble to Imbark. *Cæſar* now within ſight of *Britain* beholds on every Hill multitudes of armed men, ready to forbid his landing; and *Cicero* writes to his friend *Atticus*, that the acceſſes of the Iland were wondrouſly fortify'd with ſtrong workes or moles. Heer from the fowrth to the ninth hour of day he awaits at Anchor the coming up of his whole Fleet. Mean while with his Legatts and Tribuns conſulting, and giving order to fitt all things for what might happ'n in ſuch a various, and floating water-fight as was to be expected. This place, which was a narrow Bay-cloſe, environ'd

Cic. Att. L. 4. Ep. 17.

with Hills, appearing no way commodious, he removes to a plain and open ſhoar 8 Mile diſtant; commonly ſuppos'd about *Deal in Kent*. Which when the *Britans* perceav'd, thir Horſe and Chariots, as then they us'd in fight, ſcowring before, thir main powr ſpeeding after, ſom thick upon the ſhoar, others not tarrying to be aſſail'd, ride in among the Waves to encounter, and aſſault the *Romans* eev'n under thir Ships; with ſuch a bold, and free hardihood, that *Caſar* himſelf between confeſſing and excuſing that his Souldiers were to come down from thir Ships, to ſtand in water heavy arm'd, and to fight at once, denies not but that the terrour of ſuch new and reſolute oppoſition made them forget thir wonted valour. To ſuccour which, he commands his Gallies, a ſight unuſual to the *Britans*, and more apt for motion, drawn from the bigger Veſſels, to row againſt the op'n ſide of the Enemy, and thence with Slings, Engines, and Darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, though amaz'd at the ſtrangeneſs of thoſe new SeaCaſtles, bearing up ſo neer, and ſo ſwiftly as almoſt to overwhelm them, the hurtling of Oares, the battring of feirce Engines againſt thir bodies barely expos'd, did the *Britans* give much ground, or the *Romans* gain; till *he who bore the Eagle of the Tenth Legion*, yet in the Gallies, firſt beſeeching his gods, ſaid thus alowd, *leap down Souldiers, unleſs ye mean to betray your Enſigne; I for my part will perform what I ow to the Commonwealth and my General.* This utter'd, over-board he leaps, and with his Eagle feircly advanc'd runs upon the Enemy; the reſt hartning one another not to admit the diſhonour of ſo nigh looſing thir cheif Standard, follow him reſolutely. Now was fought eagerly on both ſides. Ours who well knew thir own advantages, and expertly

Camden.

pertly us'd them, now in the ſhallows, now on the Sand, ſtill as the *Romans* went trooping to their Enſignes, receav'd them, diſpatch'd them, and with the help of thir Horſe, put them every where to great diſorder. But *Cæſar* cauſing all his Boats and Shallops to be fill'd with Souldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with releif where they ſaw need; Whereby at length all the Foot now diſ-imbark't, and got together in ſom order on firm ground, with a more ſteddy charge put the *Britans* to flight: but wanting all thir Horſe, whom the winds yet withheld from Sailing, they were not able to make pourſuit. In this confuſed fight *Scæva a Roman Souldier*, having preſs'd too farr among the *Britans*, and beſett round, after incredible valour ſhewn, ſingle againſt a multitude, ſwom back ſafe to his General; and in the place that rung with his praiſes, earneſtly beſought pardon for his raſh adventure againſt Diſcipline: which modeſt confeſſing after no bad event, for ſuch a deed wherin valour, and ingenuity ſo much out-weigh'd tranſgreſſion, eaſily made amends and preferr'd him to be a Centurion. *Cæſar* alſo is brought in by *Julian*, attributing to himſelf the honour (if it were at all an honour to that perſon which he ſuſtain'd) of being the firſt that left his Ship, and took Land: but this were to make *Cæſar* leſs underſtand what became him then *Scæva*. The *Britans* finding themſelvs maiſter'd in fight, forthwith ſend Embaſſadors to treat of peace; promiſing to give Hoſtages, and to be at command. With them *Comius of Arras* alſo return'd; whom hitherto ſince his firſt coming from *Cæſar*, they had detain'd in Priſon as a ſpy: the blame wherof they lay on the common people; for whoſe violence, and thir own imprudence

Valer. Max. Plutarch.

In Cæſarib.

dence they crave pardon. *Cæſar* complaining they had firſt ſought peace, and then without cauſe had begun War, yet content to pardon them, commands Hoſtages: wherof part they bring in ſtrait, others farr up in the Country to be ſent for, they promiſe in a few daies. Mean while the people diſbanded and ſent home, many Princes, and cheif men from all parts of the Ile ſubmit themſelves and thir Cities to the diſpoſe of *Cæſar*, who lay then encamp'd, as is thought, on *Baram down*. Thus had the *Britans* made thir peace; when ſuddenly an accident unlook'd for put new counſels into thir minds. Fowr daies after the coming of *Cæſar*, thoſe 18 Ships of burden, which from the upper hav'n had tak'n in all the *Roman Horſe*, born with a ſoft wind to the very Coaſt, in ſight of the *Roman Camp*, were by a ſudden tempeſt ſcatter'd, and driv'n back, ſome to the Port from whence they loos'd, others down into the Weſt Country; who finding there no ſafety either to land, or to caſt Anchor, choſe rather to commit themſelvs again to the troubl'd Sea; and as *Oroſius* reports, were moſt of them caſt away. The ſame night, it being full Moon, the Gallies left upon dry Land, were unaware to the Romans, cover'd with a Spring-tide, and the greater Ships that lay off at Anchor, torn and beat'n with Waves, to the great perplexity of *Cæſar*, and his whole Army; who now had neither Shipping left to convay them back, nor any proviſion made to ſtay heer, intending to have winter'd in *Gallia*. All this the *Britans* well perceaving, and by the compaſs of his Camp, which without baggage appear'd the ſmaller, gueſſing at his numbers, conſult together, and one by one ſlily withdrawing from the Camp, where they were waiting the concluſion of a peace, reſolve to ſtop all proviſions,

viſions, and to draw out the buſineſs till Winter. *Cæſar* though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the condition wherin he was, and thir other hoſtages not ſent, ſuſpecting what was likely, begins to provide apace, all that might be, againſt what might happ'n: laies in Corn, and with materials fetch'd from the Continent, and what was left of thoſe Ships which were paſt help, he repairs the reſt. So that now by the inceſſant labour of his Souldiers, all but twelv were again made ſerviceable. While theſe things are doing, one of the Legions being ſent out to forrage, as was accuſtom'd, and no ſuſpicion of Warr, while ſom of the *Britans* were remaining in the Country about, others alſo going and coming freely to the *Roman Quarters*, they who were in ſtation at the Camp Gates ſent ſpeedy word to *Cæſar*, that from that part of the Country, to which the Legion went, a greater duſt then uſual was ſeen to riſe. *Cæſar* gueſſing the matter, commands the Cohorts of Guard to follow him thether, two others to ſucceed in thir ſtead, the reſt all to arm and follow. They had not march'd long, when *Cæſar* diſcerns his Legion ſore overcharg'd: for the *Britans* not doubting but that thir Enemies on the morrow, would be in that place which only they had left unreap'd of all thir Harveſt, had plac'd an Ambuſh; and while they were diſperſt and buſieſt at thir labour, ſet upon them, kill'd ſom, and routed the reſt. The manner of thir fight was from a kind of Chariots; wherin riding about, and throwing Darts, with the clutter of thir Horſe, and of thir Wheels, they oft-times broke the rank of thir Enemies; then retreating among the Horſe, and quitting thir Chariots, they fought on Foot. The Charioters in the mean while ſomwhat aſide from the Battell, ſet themſelvs in ſuch order, that

that thir Maiſters at any time oppreſs'd with odds, might retire ſafely thether, having perform'd with one perſon both the nimble ſervice of a Horſe-man, and the ſtedfaſt duty of a Foot Souldier. So much they could with thir Chariots by uſe, and exerciſe, as riding on the ſpeed down a ſteep Hill, to ſtop ſuddenly, and with a ſhort rein turn ſwiftly, now runing on the beam, now on the Yoke, then in the Seat. With this ſort of new ſkirmiſhing, the *Romans* now overmatch'd, and terrify'd, *Cæſar* with opportune aid appears; for then the *Britans* make a ſtand: but he conſidering that now was not fitt time to offer Battell, while his men were ſcarce recover'd of ſo late a fear, only keeps his ground, and ſoon after leads back his Legions to the Camp. Furder action for many days following was hinder'd on both ſides by foul weather; in which time the *Britans* diſpatching Meſſengers round about, to how few the *Romans* were reduc'd, what hope of priſe and booty, and now if ever of freeing themſelvs from the fear of like invaſions heerafter by making theſe an example, if they could but now uncamp thir Enemies, at this intimation multitudes of Horſe and Foot coming down from all parts make towards the Romans. *Cæſar* foreſeeing that the *Britans* though beat'n and putto flight would eaſily evade his Foot, yet with no more then 30 Horſe, which *Comius* had brought over, draws out his men to Battell, puts again the *Britans* to flight, purſues with ſlaughter, and returning burns and laies waſte all about. Whereupon Embaſſadors the ſame day being ſent from the *Britans* to deſire peace, *Cæſar*, as his affairs at preſent ſtood, for ſo great a breach of Faith, only impoſes on them double the former hoſtages, to be ſent after him into *Gallia*: And becauſe *September* was nigh

nigh half ſpent, a ſeaſon not fit to tempt the Sea with his weather-beat'n Fleet, the ſame night with a fair wind he departs towards *Belgia*; whether two only of the *Britan* Citties ſent Hoſtages, as they promis'd, the reſt neglected. But at *Rome* when the news came of *Cæſars* acts here, whether it were eſteem'd a Conqueſt, or a fair Eſcape, ſupplication of 20 days is decreed by the Senate, as either for an exploit done, or a diſcovery made, wherin both *Cæſar* and the *Romans* gloried not a little, though it brought no benefit either to him, or the Common-wealth.

The Winter following, *Cæſar*, as his cuſtom was, going into *Italy*, when as he ſaw that moſt of the *Britans* regarded not to ſend thir Hoſtages, appoints his Legats whom he left in *Belgia*, to provide what poſſible Shipping they could either build, or repair. Low built they were to bee, as therby eaſier both to fraught, and to hale aſhoar; nor needed to be higher, becauſe the Tyde ſo often changing, was obſerv'd to make the Billows leſs in our Sea then thoſe in the Mediterranean: broader likewiſe they were made, for the better tranſporting of Horſes, and all other fraughtage, being intended cheifly to that end. Theſe all about 600. in a readineſs, with 28 Ships of burden, and what with adventurers, and other hulks above 200, *Cotta* one of the Legates wrote them, as *Athæneus* affirms, in all 1000, *Cæſar* from Port *Iccius*, a paſſage of ſom 30 mile over, leaving behind him *Labienus* to guard the hav'n, and for other ſupply at need, with five Legions, though but 2000 Horſe, about ſun ſett hoyſing ſaile with a ſlack South-Weſt, at midnight was becalm'd. And finding when it was light, that the whole Navy lying on the current, had fal'n of from the Ile, which now they could

Dion. *Cæſar Com.* 5.

deſcry on thir left hand, by the unwearied labour of his Souldiers, who refus'd not to tugg the Oare, and kept courſe with Ships under ſayl, he bore up as neer as might bee, to the ſame place where he had landed the yeer before; where about noon arriving, no Enemy could be ſeen. For the *Britans*, which in great number, as was after know'n, had bin there, at ſight of ſo huge a Fleet durſt not abide. *Cæſar* forthwith landing his Army, and encamping to his beſt advantage, ſom notice being giv'n him by thoſe he took, where to find the Enemy, with his whole power, ſave only ten cohorts, and 300 Horſe, left to *Quintus Atrius* for the guard of his Ships, about the third watch of the ſame night marches up twelv mile into the Country. And at length by a River commonly thought the *Stowre* in *Kent*, eſpies embattail'd *the Britiſh Forces*. They with thir Horſes and Chariots advancing to the higher Banks, oppoſe the *Romans* in thir March, and begin the fight; but repuls't by the *Roman Cavalrie* give back into the Woods to a place notably made ſtrong both by Art and Nature; which, it ſeems, had bin a Fort, or Hold of ſtrength rays'd heertofore in time of Warrs among themſelvs. For entrance, and acceſs on all ſides, by the felling of huge Trees overthwart one another, was quite barr'd up; and within theſe the *Britans* did thir utmoſt to keep out the Enemy. But the Souldiers of the ſeventh Legion locking all thir Sheilds together like a rooff cloſe over head, and others raying a Mount, without much loſs of blood took the place, and drove them all to forſake the Woods. Purſuit they made not long, as beeing through ways unknow'n; and now ev'ning came on, which they more wiſely ſpent, in chooſing out where to pitch and fortify thir Camp that night. The next Morning

Before the Birth of Chriſt, 52.

Morning *Cæſar* had but newly ſent out his men in three bodies to pourſue, and the laſt no furder gon then yet in ſight, when Horſemen all in Poſte from *Quintus Artrius* bring word to *Cæſar*, that almoſt all his Ships in a Tempeſt that night had ſuffer'd wrack, and lay brok'n upon the ſhoar. *Cæſar* at this news recalls his Legions, himſelf in all haſt riding back to the Sea-ſide, beheld with his own Eyes the ruinous proſpect. About forty Veſſels were ſunk and loſt, the reſidue ſo torn, and ſhak'n as not to be new rigg'd without much labour. Strait he aſſembles what number of Ship-wrights either in his own Legions or from beyond Sea, could be ſummon'd; appoints *Labienus* on the *Belgian* ſide to build more; and with a dreadful induſtry of ten days, not reſpiting his Souldiers day or night, drew up all his Ships, and entrench'd them round within the circuit of his Camp. This don, and leaving to thir defence the ſame ſtrength as before, he returns with his whole Forces to the ſame Wood, where he had defeated the *Britans*: who preventing him with greater powers then before, had now repoſſeſs'd themſelvs of that place, under *Caſſibelan* thir cheif Leader. Whoſe Territory from the States bordering on the Sea was divided by the *River Thames* about 80 mile inward. With him formerly other Citties had continual Warr; but now in the common danger had all made choiſe of him to be thir Generall. Heer the *Britiſh* Horſe and Charioters meeting with the *Roman* Cavalrie fought ſtoutly; and at firſt, ſomthing overmatch'd they retreat to the neer advantage of thir Woods and Hills, but ſtill follow'd by the *Romans*, make head again, cut of the forwardeſt among them, and after ſome pauſe, while *Cæſar*, who thought the days work had bin don, was buſied

about the entrenching of his Camp, march out again, give feirce aſſault to the very Stations of his Guards and Senteries, and while the main cohorts of two Legions that were ſent to the Alarme, ſtood within a ſmall diſtance of each other terrify'd at the newneſs and the boldneſs of thir fight, charg'd back again through the midſt, without loſs of a man. Of the Romans that day was ſlain *Quintus Laberius Durus* a Tribune: the *Britans* having fought thir fill at the very entrance of *Cæſars* Camp, and ſuſtain'd the reſiſtance of his whole Army entrench'd, gave over the aſſault. *Cæſar* heer acknowledges that the *Roman* way both of arming, and of fighting, was not ſo well fitted againſt this kind of Enemy; for that the Foot in heavy Armour could not follow thir cunning flight, and durſt not by ancient Diſcipline ſtirr from thir Enſigne; and the Horſe alone, diſjoyn'd from the Legions, againſt a foe that turn'd ſuddenly upon them with a mixt encounter both of Horſe and Foot, were in equall danger both following and retiring. Beſides thir faſhion was, not in great bodies, and cloſe order, but in ſmall diviſions, and open diſtances to make thir onſet; appointing others at certain ſpaces, now to releev and bring of the weary, now to ſucceed and renew the conflict; which argu'd no ſmall experience, and uſe of Armes. Next day the *Britans* afarr off upon the Hills begin to ſhew themſelves heer and there, and though leſs boldly then before, to ſkirmiſh with the *Roman* Horſe. But at Noon *Cæſar* having ſent out 3 Legions, and all his Horſe with *Trebonius* the Legat, to ſeek fodder, ſuddenly on all ſides they ſet upon the Forragers, and charge up after them to the very Legions, and thir Standards. The *Romans* with great courage beat them back, and in the chace, beeing well

well ſeconded by the Legions, not giving them time either to rally, to ſtand, or to deſcend from thir Chariots as they were wont, ſlew many. From this overthrow, the *Britans*, that dwelt farder off, betook them home; and came no more after that time with ſo great a power againſt *Cæſar*. Whereof advertis'd he marches onward to the Frontiers of *Caſſibelan*, which on this ſide were bounded by the *Thames*, not paſſable except in one place and that difficult, about *Coway ſtakes neer Oatlands*, as is conjectur'd. Hither coming he deſcries on the other ſide great Forces of the Enemy, plac'd in good Array; the bank ſett all with ſharp ſtakes, others in the bottom, cover'd with water; whereof the marks in *Beda*'s time, were to be ſeene, as he relates. This having learnt by ſuch as were tak'n, or had run to him, he firſt commands his Horſe to paſs over; then his Foot, who wadeing up to the neck went on ſo reſolutely, and ſo faſt, that they on the furder ſide not enduring the violence, retreated and fled. *Caſſibelan* noe more now in hope to contend for Victorie, diſmiſſing all but 4000. of thoſe Charioters, through Woods, and intricate waies attends thir motion; where the *Romans* are to paſs, drives all before him; and with continuall ſallies upon the Horſe, where they leaſt expected, cutting off ſome and terrifying others, compells them ſoe cloſe together, as gave them no leave to fetch in prey or bootie without ill ſucceſs. Whereupon *Cæſar* ſtrictly commanding all not to part from the Legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty Fields and Houſes, which he ſpoil'd and burnt. Meane while the *Trinobantes* a State, or Kingdome, and perhaps the greateſt then among the *Britans*, leſs favouring *Caſſibelan* ſend Embaſſadors, and yeild to *Cæſar* upon this reaſon. *Camden.*

Imma-

Immanuentius had bin thir King: him *Cassibelan* had slaine, and purpos'd the like to *Mandubratius* his Son, whom *Orosius* calls *Androgorius*, *Beda Androgius*; but the youth escaping by flight into *Gallia*, put himself under the protection of *Cæsar*. These entreat that *Mandubratius* may be still defended; and sent home to succeed in his Fathers right. *Cæsar* sends him, demands 40 Hostages and provision for his Armie, which they immediately bring in, and have thir Confines protected from the Souldier. By their example the *Cenimagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci*, *Cassi* (so I write them for the modern names are but gues's'd) on like terms make thir peace. By them he learns that the Town of *Cassibelan*, suppos'd to be *Verulam*, was not farr distant; fenc't about with Woods and Marshes, well stuff't with men and much Cattel. For Towns then in *Britain* were only Wooddy places Ditch't round and with a Mud Wall encompass'd against the inrodes of Enemies. Thether goes *Cæsar* with his Legions, and though a place of great strength both by art and nature, assaults it in two places. The *Britans* after some defence fled out all at another end of the Town; in the flight many were taken, many slain, and great store of Cattel found there. *Cassibelan* for all these losses yet deserts not himself; nor was yet his authoritie so much impair'd, but that in *Kent*, though in a manner possest by the Enemie, his Messengers and commands finde obedience anough to raise all the people. By his direction *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus* and *Segonax*, *fowr Kings* Reigning in those Countries which ly upon the Sea, lead them on to assault that Camp wherein the *Romans* had entrench'd thir Shipping: but they whom *Cæsar* left there, issuing out slew many, and took Prisners *Cingetorix*

getorix a noted Leader, without loſs of thir own. *Caſſibelan* after ſo many deſeats, mov'd eſpecially by revolt of the Citties from him, thir inconſtancie and falſhood one to another, uſes mediation by *Comius of Arras* to ſend Embaſſadors about treatie of yeilding. *Cæſar* who had determin'd to Winter in the Continent, by reaſon that *Gallia* was unſettl'd and not much of the Summer now behind, commands him only Hoſtages, and what yearly Tribute the Iland ſhould pay to *Rome*, forbidds him to moleſt the *Trinobants*, or *Mandubratius*; and with his Hoſtages, and great number of Captives he puts to Sea, haveing at twiſe embark't his whole Armie. *At his return to Rome, as from a glorious enterpriſe, he offers to* Venus *the Patroneſs of his Family, a Corſlet of Britiſh Pearles.* Pliny.

Howbeit other antient writers have ſpok'n more doubtfully of *Cæſars* Victories heer; and that in plaine termes he fled from hence; for which the common verſe in *Lucan* with divers paſſages heer and there in *Tacitus* is alleg'd. *Paulus Oroſius*, who took what he wrote from a Hiſtorie of *Suetonius* now loſt, writes that *Cæſar* in his firſt journey entertain'd with a ſharp fight loſt no ſmall number of his Foot, and by tempeſt nigh all his Horſe. *Dion* affirms that once in the ſecond expedition all his Foot were routed, *Oroſius* that another time all his Horſe. The *Britiſh* Author, whom I uſe only then when others are all ſilent, hath many trivial diſcourſes of *Cæſars* beeing heer, which are beſt omitted. Nor have wee more of *Caſſibelan*, then what the ſame ſtorie tells, how he warr'd ſoon after with *Androgeus*, about his Nefew ſlain by *Evelinus* Nefew to the other; which buſineſs at length compos'd, *Caſſibelan* dies and was buried in *Yorke*, *if the Monmouth Booke Fable not.* But *Oroſ.* Lib. 6. c. 7. & 9.

at

at *Cæſars* coming hither, ſuch likelieſt were the *Britans*, as the Writers of thoſe times, and thir own actions repreſent them; in courage and warlike readineſs to take advantage by ambuſh or ſudden onſet, not inferiour to the *Romans*, nor *Caſſibelan* to *Cæſar*, in Weapons, Armes, and the ſkill of Encamping, Embattailing, Fortifying, overmatch't; thir Weapons were a ſhort Speare and light Target, a Sword alſo by thir ſide, thir fight ſometimes in Chariots phang'd at the Axle with Iron Sithes, thir bodies moſt part naked, only painted with woad in ſundrie figures to ſeeme terrible as they thought, but pourſu'd by Enemies, not nice of thir painting to run into Bogs, worſe then *wild Iriſh* up to the Neck, and there to ſtay many daies holding a certain morſel in thir mouths no bigger then a bean, to ſuffice hunger; but that receit, and the temperance it taught, is long ſince unknown among us: thir Towns and ſtrong holds were ſpaces of ground fenc't about with a Ditch and great Trees fell'd overthwart each other, thir buildings within were thatch't Houſes for themſelves and thir Cattell: in peace the Upland Inhabitants beſides hunting tended thir flocks and heards, but with little ſkill of Countrie affaires; the makeing of Cheeſe they commonly knew not, Woole or Flax they ſpun not, gard'ning and planting many of them knew not; clothing they had none, but what the ſkins of Beaſts afforded them, and that not alwaies; yet gallantrie they had, painting thir own ſkins with ſeverall Portratures of Beaſt, Bird, or Flower, *a Vanitie which hath not yet left us, remov'd only from the skin to the skirt behung now with as many colour'd Ribands and gewgawes*; towards the Sea ſide they till'd the ground and liv'd much after the manner of *Gaules* thir Neighbours, or firſt Planters:

Dion. *Mela.* *Cæſar.* *Herodian.* *Dion.* *Cæſar.* *Strabo.* *Dion.* *Strabo.* *Herodian.* *Solinus.* *Cæſar.*

ters: thir money was brazen pieces or Iron Rings, thir beſt Merchandiſe Tin, the reſt trifles of Glaſs, Ivorie and ſuch like; yet Gemms and Pearles they had, ſaith *Mela*, in ſome Rivers: thir Ships of light timber wickerd with Oyſier betweene, and coverd over with Leather, ſerv'd not therefore to tranceport them farr, and thir commodities were fetch't away by Foren Merchants: thir dealing, *ſaith Diodorus*, plaine and ſimple without fraude; thir civil Government under many Princes and States, not confederate or conſulting in common, but miſtruſtfull, and oft-times warring one with the other, which gave them up one by one an eaſie Conqueſt to the *Romans*: thir Religion was governd by a ſort of Prieſts or Magicians call'd *Druides* from the Greek name of an *Oke*, which Tree they had in greate reverence, and the *Miſſleto* eſpecially growing theron; *Plinie* writes them ſkill'd in Magic no leſs then thoſe of *Perſia*: by thir abſtaining from a Hen, a Hare, and a Gooſe, from Fiſh alſo, *ſaith Dion*, and thir opinion of the Soules paſſing after Death into other Bodies, they may be thought to have ſtudied *Pythagoras*; yet Philoſophers I cannot call them, reported men factious and ambitious, contending ſomtimes about the archprieſthood not without civil Warr and ſlaughter; nor reſtrein'd they the people under them from a lew'd adulterous and inceſtuous life, ten or twelve men abſurdly againſt nature, poſſeſſing one woman as thir common Wife, though of neereſt Kin, Mother, Daughter, or Siſter; Progenitors not to be glori'd in. But the Goſpel, not long after preach't heer, aboliſh'd ſuch impurities, and of the *Romans* we have cauſe not to ſay much worſe, then that they beate us into ſome civilitie; likely elſe to have continu'd longer in a barbarous and ſavage

Tacitus, Diodor. Strabo.

Lucan.

Tacitus.

Mela.

Dion.

Cæſar.

Cæſar.

manner of life. After *Julius* (for *Julius* before his Death tyrannouſly had made himſelf Emperor of the *Roman* Common-wealth, and was ſlaine in the Senate for ſo doeing) he who next obtain'd the Empire,
Strabo L. 2. *Octavianus Cæſar Auguſtus*, either contemning the *Iland*, as *Strabo* would have us think, whoſe neither benefit was worth the having, nor enmitie worth the fearing; or out of a wholſome ſtate maxim, as ſome ſay, to moderate and bound the Empire from growing vaſt and unweildie, made no attempt againſt the *Britans*. But the truer cauſe was partly civil
Year before the Birth of Chriſt, 32. Warr among the *Romans*, partly other affairs more urging. For about 20 Years after, all which time the *Britans* had liv'd at thir own diſpoſe, *Auguſtus* in
Dion. L. 49. imitation of his Uncle *Julius*, either intending or
Year before the Birth of Chriſt, 25. ſeeming to intend an expedition hither, was com into *Gallia*, when the news of a revolt in *Pannonia* diverted him: about 7 year after in the ſame reſo-
Dion. L. 53. 24. lution, what with the unſettl'dneſs of *Gallia*, and what with Embaſſadors from *Britain* which met him there, he proceeded not. The next year, difference arriſing about Covnants, he was again prevented by other new commotions in *Spaine*. Nevertheleſs ſom of the *Britiſh Potentates* omitted not to ſeek his friendſhip by guifts offerd in the Capitol, and other
Strabo L. 4. obſequious addreſſes. Inſomuch that the whole *Iland* became eev'n in thoſe daies well known to the *Romans*; too well perhaps for them, who from the knowledge of us were ſo like to prove Enemies. But as for Tribute, the *Britans* paid none to *Auguſtus*, except what eaſie cuſtomes were levied on the ſlight commodities wherewith they traded into *Gallia*.

After *Caſſibelan*, *Tenantius* the younger Son of *Lud*, according to the *Monmouth* Storie was made King.

King. For *Androgeus* the Elder, conceaving himſelf generally hated, for ſideing with the *Romans*, forſook his claime heer, and follow'd *Cæſars* Fortune. *This King is recorded Juſt and Warlike.*

His Son *Kymbeline* or *Cunobeline* ſucceeding, was brought up, as is ſaid, in the Court of *Auguſtus*, and with him held friendly correſpondences to the end; was a warlike Prince; his chief ſeat *Camalodunum*, or *Maldon*, as by certain of his coines, yet to be ſeen, appears. *Tiberius* the next Emperor, adhering alwaies to the advice of *Auguſtus*, and of himſelf leſs careing to extend the bounds of his Empire, ſought not the *Britans*; and they as little to incite him, ſent home courteouſly the Souldiers of *Germanicus*, that by Shipwrack had bin caſt on the *Britan ſhoar*. But *Caligula* his Succeſſor, a wild and diſſolute Tyrant, haveing paſt *the Alpes* with intent to rob and ſpoile thoſe Provinces, and ſtirr'd up by *Adminius* the Son of *Cunobeline*; who by his Father baniſh'd, with a ſmall number fled thether to him, he made ſemblance of marching toward *Britain*; but beeing come to the Ocean, and there behaveing himſelf madly, and ridiculouſly, went back the ſame way: yet ſent before him boaſting letters to the Senate, as if all *Britain* had bin yeilded him. *Cunobeline* now dead, *Adminius* the Eldeſt by his Father baniſh'd from his Country, and by his own practice againſt it, from the Crown, though by an old coine ſeeming to have alſo reign'd; *Togodumnus*, and *Caractacus* the two younger, uncertaine whether equal or ſubordinat in power, were advanc'd into his place. But through civil diſcord, *Bericus* (what he was furder, is not known) with others of his party flying to *Rome*, perſuaded *Claudius* the Emperor to an invaſion. *Claudius* now Conſul the third time, and deſirous to

Tacit. an. L. 2.

Year after the Birth of Chriſt, 16.

Dion. Sueton. Cal.

An. Dom. 40.

Dion.

43.

Sueton. do ſomething, whence he might gain the honour of a Triumph, at the perſuaſion of theſe fugitives, whom the *Britans* demanding, he had deny'd to render, and they for that cauſe had deny'd furder amity with *Rome*, makes choiſe of *this Iland* for his Province: and ſends before him *Aulus Plautius the Prætor*, with this command, if the buſineſs grew difficult to give him notice. *Plautius* with much ado perſuaded the Legions to move out of *Gallia*, murmuring that now they muſt be put to make Warr beyond the Worlds End; for ſo they counted *Britain*; and what welcom *Julius* the Dictator found there, doubtleſs they had heard. At laſt prevail'd with, and hoyſſing ſaile from three ſeveral Ports, leſt thir landing ſhould in any one place be reſiſted, meeting croſs winds, they were caſt back and diſheartn'd: till in the night a meteor ſhooting flames from the Eaſt, and, as they fanſi'd, directing thir courſe, they took heart againe to try the Sea, and without oppoſition landed. For the *Britans* haveing heard of thir unwillingneſs to come, had bin negligent to provide againſt them; and retireing to the Woods and Moares, intended to fruſtrate, and wear them out with delaies, as they had ſerv'd *Cæſar* before. *Plautius* after much trouble to find them out, encountring firſt with *Caractacus*, then with *Togodumnus*, overthrew them; and receaving into conditions part of the *Boduni*, who then were ſubject to the *Catuellani*, and leaving there a Garriſon, went on toward a River; where the *Britans* not imagining that *Plautius* without a bridge could paſs, lay on the furder ſide careleſs and ſecure. But he ſending firſt the *Germans*, whoſe cuſtome was, arm'd as they were, to ſwim with eaſe the ſtrongeſt current, commands them to ſtrike eſpecially at the Horſes, whereby

whereby the Chariots, wherein conſiſted thir chief art of fight, became unſerviceable. To ſecond them he ſent *Veſpatian*, who in his later daies obtain'd the Empire, and *Sabinus* his Brother; who unexpectedly aſſailing thoſe who were leaſt aware, did much execution. Yet not for this were the *Britans* diſmaid; but reuniteing the next day fought with ſuch a courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the Victorie: till *Caius Sidius Geta*, at point to have bin tak'n, recover'd himſelf ſo valiantly, as brought the day on his ſide; for which at *Rome* he receav'd high honours. After this the *Britans* drew back toward the mouth of *Thames*, and acquainted with thoſe places, croſs'd over; where the *Romans* following them through bogs and dangerous flats, hazarded the loſs of all. Yet the *Germans* getting over, and others by a bridge at ſome place above, fell on them again with ſundry Alarmes and great ſlaughter; but in the heat of purſuit running themſelves again into Bogs and Mires, loſt as many of thir own. Upon which ill ſucceſs, and ſeeing the *Britans* more enrag'd at the Death of *Togodumnus*, who in one of theſe Battels had bin ſlain, *Plautius* fearing the worſt, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoyn'd him, ſends to *Claudius*. He who waited ready with a huge preparation, as if not ſafe anough amidſt the flowr of all his *Romans*, like a great Eaſtern King, with armed Elephants marches through *Gallia*. So full of perill was this enterpriſe eſteem'd, as not without all this Equipage, and ſtranger terrors then *Roman* Armies to meet the native and the naked *Britiſh valour* defending their Country. Joyn'd with *Plautius* who encamping on the Bank of *Thames* attended him, he paſſes the River. The *Britans*, who had the courage, but not the wiſe conduct

duct of old *Caſſibelan*, laying all Stratagem aſide, in down right manhood ſcrupl'd not to affront in op'n field almoſt the whole power of the *Roman Empire*. But overcome and vanquiſh'd, part by force, others by treatie com in and yeild. *Claudius* therfore who took *Camalodunum*, the Royal Seat of *Cunobeline*, was oft'n by his Armie ſaluted *Imperator*; a Militarie Title which uſually they gave thir Generall after any notable exploit; but to others not above once in the ſame Warr; as if *Claudius* by theſe acts had deſervd more then the Laws of *Rome* had provided honour to reward. Haveing therefore diſ-
Dion. L. 62. arm'd the *Britans*, but remitted the confiſcation of thir goods, for which they worſhip'd him with Sa-
Tacit. an. 14. crifice and Temple as a God, leaving *Plautius* to ſubdue what remain'd; he returnes to *Rome*, from
44. whence he had bin abſent only ſix moneths, and in *Britain* but 16 daies; ſending the news before him of his Victories, though in a ſmall part of the *Iland*. To whom the Senate, as for atchievments of higheſt merit, decree'd exceſſive honours; *Arches, Triumphs, annual Solemnities, and the Sirname of Britannicus both to him and his Son.*

Suetonius writes that *Claudius* found heer no reſiſtance, and that all was done without ſtroke: but this ſeems not probable. *The Monmouth Writer* names theſe two Sones of *Cunobeline*, *Guillerius*, and *Arviragus*; that *Guiderius* beeing ſlaine in fight, *Arviragus* to conceale it, put on his Brothers Habillements, and in his perſon held up the Battel to a Victorie; the reſt, as of *Hamo* the *Roman Captaine*, *Genuiſſa* the Emperors Daughter, and ſuch like ſtuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth reherſing in the midſt of Truth. *Plautius* after this, employing his freſh Forces to Conquer on, and quiet the rebelling Coun-

tries,

tries, found worke anough to deſerve at his returne a kind of Tryumphant riding into *the Capitol* ſide by ſide with the Emperour. *Veſpatian* alſo under *Plautius* had thirtie conflicts with the Enemie; in one of which encompaſs'd and in great danger, he was valiantly and piouſly reſcu'd by his Son *Titus*: two powerfull Nations he ſubdu'd heer, above 20 Townes and *the Ile of Wight*; for which he receav'd at *Rome* Tryumphal Ornaments, and other great dignities. *For that Cittie in reward of vertue was ever magnificent: and long after when true merit was ceas't among them, leſt any thing reſembling vertue ſhould want honour, the ſame rewards were yet allow'd to the very ſhadow and oſtentation of merit.* *Oſtorius* in the room of *Plautius* Vice-prætor, met with turbulent affaires; the *Britans* not ceaſing to vex with inrodes all thoſe Countries that were yeilded to the *Romans*; and now the more eagerly, ſuppoſing that the new Generall unacquainted with his Armie, and on the edge of Winter, would not haſtily oppoſe them. But he waighing that firſt events were moſt available to breed fear or contempt, with ſuch cohorts as were next at hand ſets out againſt them: whome having routed, ſo cloſe he followes, as one who meant not to be everie day moleſted with the cavils of a ſlight peace, or an emboldn'd Enemie. Leſt they ſhould make head againe, he diſarmes whom he ſuſpects; and to ſurround them, places many Garriſons upon the Rivers of *Antona* and *Sabrina*. But the *Iceenians*, a ſtout people untouch'd yet by theſe Warrs, as haveing before ſought alliance with the *Romans*, were the firſt that brook'd not this. By their example others riſe; and in a choſen place, fenc't with high Banks of Earth, and narrow Lanes to prevent the Horſe, warily Encampe. *Oſto-*

Sueton. Claud. 5. 24.

Sueton. Veſp. Dio. L. 60. 47.

50.

Tacit. an. 12.

rius,

rius, though yet not ſtrengthn'd with his Legions, cauſes the auxiliar Bands, his Troops alſo allighting, to aſſault the rampart. They within though peſter'd with thir own number, ſtood to it like men reſolv'd, and in a narrow compaſs did remarkable deeds. But overpowerd at laſt, and others by thir ſucceſs quieted, who till then waverd, *Oſtorius* next bends his Force upon the *Cangians*, waſting all eeven to the Sea of *Ireland*, without foe in his way, or them, who durſt, ill handl'd; when the *Brigantes* attempting new matters, drew him back to ſettle firſt what was unſecure behind him. They, of whome the chief were puniſh'd, the reſt forgiv'n, ſoon gave over, but the *Silures* no way tractable were not to be repreſs'd without a ſet Warr. To further this, *Camalodunum* was planted with a Colony of *Veteran Souldiers*; to be a firme and readie aid againſt revolts, and a means to teach the Natives *Roman* Law and Civilitie. *Cogidunus* alſo a *Britiſh King*, thir faſt friend, had to the ſame intent certain Citties giv'n him: a haughtie craft, which the *Romans* us'd, to make Kings alſo the ſervile agents of enſlaving others. But the *Silures* hardie of themſelves, rely'd more on the valour of *Caractacus*; whome many doubtfull, many proſperous ſucceſſes had made eminent above all that rul'd in *Britain*. He adding to his courage Policie, and knowing himſelf to be of ſtrength inferior, in other advantages the better; makes the Seat of his Warr among the *Ordovices*; a Country wherein all the odds were to his own partie, all the difficulties to his Enemie. The Hills and every acceſs he fortifi'd with heapes of Stones, and guards of men; to com at whom a River of unſafe paſſage muſt be firſt waded. The place, *as Camden conjectures*, had thence the name of *Caer-Caradoc on the*

Tacit. vit. Agric.

Weſt

Weſt edge of Shropſhire. He himſelf continually went up and down, animating his Officers and Leaders, *that this was the day, this the field either to defend thir Libertie, or to die free*; calling to mind the names of his glorious Anceſtors, who drove *Cæſar* the Dictator out of *Britain*, whoſe valour hitherto had preſerv'd them from bondage, thir Wives and Children from diſhonour. Inflam'd with theſe words, they all vow thir utmoſt, with ſuch undaunted reſolution as amaz'd the *Roman Generall*; but the Souldier leſs waighing, becauſe leſs knowing, clamourd to be led on againſt any danger. *Oſtorius* after wary circumſpection bidds them paſs the River: the *Britans* no ſooner had them within reach of thir Arrowes, Darts, and Stones, but ſlew and wounded largly of the *Romans*. They on the other ſide cloſeing thir ranks, and over head cloſeing thir Targetts, threw down the looſe rampires of the *Britans*, and perſue them up the Hills both light arm'd and Legions; till what with gauling Darts and heavie ſtrokes, the *Britans* who wore neither Helmet nor Cuiraſs to defend them, were at laſt overcome. This the *Romans* thought a famous Victorie; wherein the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* were tak'n, his Brothers alſo reduc'd to obedience; himſelf eſcapeing to *Cartiſmandua Queene of the Brigantes*, againſt faith giv'n was to the Victors deliverd bound: having held out againſt the *Romans nine year, ſaith Tacitus*, but by truer computation, *Seaven*. Whereby his name was up through all the adjoyning Provinces, eev'n to *Italy and Rome*: many deſiring to ſee who he was, that could withſtand ſo many years the *Roman* Puiſſance: and *Cæſar* to extoll his own Victorie, extoll'd the man whom he had vanquiſh'd. Beeing brought to *Rome*, the people as to a

Solemn ſpectacle were call'd together, the Emperors Guard ſtood in Armes. In order came firſt the Kings Servants, bearing his Trophies won in other Warrs, next, his Brothers, Wife, and Daughter, laſt himſelf. The behaviour of others through fear was low and degenerate: he only neither in countenance, word, or action, ſubmiſſive ſtanding at the Tribunal of *Claudius*, briefly ſpake to this purpoſe. *If my mind*, Cæſar, *had bin as moderate in the highth of Fortune, as my Birth and Dignitie was eminent, I might have come a friend rather then a Captive into this Cittie. Nor couldſt thou have diſlik'd him for a confederate, ſo noble of deſcent, and ruling ſo many Nations. My preſent eſtate to me diſgraceſull, to thee is glorious. I had Riches, Horſes, Armes, and men; no wonder then if I contended, not to looſe them. But if by Fate, yours only muſt be Empire, then of neceſſitie ours among the reſt muſt be ſubjection. If I ſooner had bin brought to yeild, my misfortune had bin leſs notorious, your Conqueſt had bin leſs renown'd; and in your ſevereſt determining of me, both will be ſoon forgott'n. But if you grant that I ſhall live, by me will live to you for ever that praiſe which is ſo neer divine, the clemency of a Conquerour.* Cæſar mov'd at ſuch a ſpectacle of Fortune, but eſpecially at the nobleneſs of his bearing it, gave him pardon, and to all the reſt. They all unbound, ſubmiſſely thank him, and did like reverence to *Agrippina* the Emperors Wife, who ſat by in State: a new and diſdained ſight to the manly Eyes of *Romans*, a Woeman ſitting public in her Female pride among Enſignes and Armed Cohorts. To *Oſtorius* Tryumph is decreed; and his acts eſteem'd equall to theirs, that brought in Bonds to *Rome* famouſeſt Kings. But the ſame proſperitie attended not his later

actions

actions heer. For the *Silures*, whether to reveng thir loſs of *Caractacus*, or that they ſaw *Oſtorius*, as if now all were done, leſs earneſt to reſtrain them, beſett the Prefect of his Camp, left there with Legionarie Bands to appoint Garriſons: and had not ſpeedie aid com in from the neighbouring Holds and Caſtles, had cutt them all off; notwithſtanding which, the *Præfect with* 8 *Centurions*, and many thir ſtoubteſt men were ſlaine: and upon the neck of this, meeting firſt with *Roman* Forragers, then with other Troops haſting to thir relief, utterly foyl'd and broke them alſo. *Oſtorius* ſending more after, could hardly ſtay thir flight; till the waighty Legions coming on, at firſt poys'd the Battel, at length turn'd the Scale: to the *Britans* without much loſs; for by that time it grew night. Then was the Warr ſhiverd as it were into ſmall frayes and bickerings; not unlike ſometimes to ſo many robberies, in Woods, at Waters, as chance or valour, advice or raſhneſs led them on, commanded or without command. That which moſt exaſperated the *Silures*, was a report of certaine words caſt out by the *Emperor*, *that he would root them out to the verie name.* Therefore two Cohorts more of Auxiliars, by the avarice of thir Leaders too ſecurely pillageing, they quite intercepted: and beſtowing liberally the Spoils and Captives, whereof they took plentie; drew other Countries to joyne with them. Theſe loſſes falling ſo thick upon the *Romans*, *Oſtorius* with the thought, and anguiſh thereof ended his daies: the *Britans* rejoycing, although no Battel, that yet adverſe Warr had worne out ſo great a Souldier. *Cæſar* in his place ordaines *Aulus Didius*: but ere his coming, though much haſtn'd, that the Province might not want a Governour; the *Silures* had giv'n an over-

throw to *Manlius Valens* with his Legion, rumor'd on both ſides greater then was true, by *the Silures* to amate the new Generall; by him in a double reſpect, of the more praiſe if he queld them, or the more excuſe if he fail'd. Meane time the *Silures* forgett not to infeſt the *Roman* pale with wide excurſions; till *Didius* marching out, kept them ſomwhat more within bounds. Nor were they long to ſeek, who after *Caractacus* ſhould lead them; for next to him in worth and ſkill of Warr, *Venutius a Prince of the Brigantes* merited to be thir chief. He at firſt faithfull to the *Romans*, and by them protected, was the Huſband of *Cartiſmandua Q. of the Brigantes*, himſelf perhaps reigning elſewhere. She who had betray'd *Caractacus* and her Countrie to adorne the Tryumph of *Claudius*, thereby grown powerfull and gratious with the *Romans*, preſuming on the hire of her treaſon, deſerted her Huſband; and marrying *Vellocatus* one of his Squires, conferrs on him the Kingdome alſo. This deed ſo odious and full of infamie, diſturb'd the whole State: *Venutius* with other Forces, and the help of her own Subjects, who deteſted the example of ſo foule a fact, and with all the uncomelineſs of thir Subjection to the Monarchie of a Woeman, a peece of manhood not every day to be found among *Britans*, though ſhee had got by ſuttle train his Brother with many of his kindred into her hands, brought her ſoon below the confidence of beeing able to reſiſt longer. When imploring the *Roman* aid, with much adoe, and after many a hard encounter ſhe eſcap'd the puniſhment which was readie to have ſeis'd her. *Venutius* thus debar'd the autority of ruling his own Houſhold, juſtly turnes his anger againſt the *Romans* themſelves; whoſe magnanimitie not wont to undertake

dertake diſhonorable cauſes, had arrogantly intermeddl'd in his domeſtic affaires, to uphold the Rebelion of an adultreſs againſt her Huſband. And the Kingdome he retain'd againſt thir utmoſt oppoſition; and of Warr gave them thir fill: firſt in a ſharpe conflict of uncertaine event, then againſt the Legion of *Cæſius Naſica*. Inſomuch that *Didius* growing old and mannageing the Warr by Deputies, had worke anough to ſtand on his defence, with the gaining now and then of a ſmall Caſtle. And *Nero* (for in that part of the *Ile* things continu'd in the ſame plight to the Reigne of *Veſpatian*) was minded but for ſhame to have withdrawn the *Roman* Forces out of *Britain*: In other parts whereof, about the ſame time, other things befell. *Verannius*, whom *Nero* ſent hither to ſucceed *Didius*, dying in his firſt Year, ſave a few inrodes upon the *Silures*, left only a great boaſt behind him, *that in two years, had he liv'd, he would have Conquerd all.* But *Suetonius Paulinus*, who next was ſent hither, eſteem'd a Souldier equall to the beſt in that age, for two years together went on proſperouſly; both confirming what was got, and ſubdueing onward. At laſt overconfident of his preſent actions, and æmulating others, of whoſe deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as farr as *Mona, the Ile of Angleſey*, a populous place. For they it ſeemes had both entertain'd fugitives, and giv'n good aſſiſtance to the reſt that withſtood him. He makes him Boates with flat bottoms, fitted to the Shallows which he expected in that narrow frith: his Foot ſo paſs'd over, his Horſe waded or ſwom. Thick upon the ſhoar ſtood ſeveral groſs bands of men well weapn'd, many women like furies running to and fro in diſmal habit with hair looſe about thir ſhoulders, held

Tacit. vit. Agric.

Tacit. Hiſt. 3. Sueton.

Torches

Torches in thir hands. The *Druids*, thoſe were thir Prieſts, of whome more in another place, with hands lift up to Heav'n uttering direfull praiers, aſtoniſh'd the *Romans*; who at ſo ſtrange a ſight ſtood in a-maze though wounded: at length awak'd and encourag'd by thir Generall, not to feare a barbarous and lunatic rout, fall on, and beat them down ſcorch't and rouling in thir own fire. Then were they yoak'd with Garriſons, and the places conſecrate to thir bloodie ſuperſtitions deſtroi'd. For whom they took in Warr they held it lawfull to Sacrifice; and by the entrails of men us'd divination. While thus *Paulinus* had his thought ſtill fix'd before, to goe on winning, his back lay broad op'n to occaſion of looſing more behind. For the *Britans* urg'd and oppreſs'd with many unſufferable injuries, had all banded themſelves to a generall revolt. The particular cauſes are not all writt'n by one Author; *Tacitus* who liv'd next thoſe times of any to us extant, writes that *Praſutagus King of the Icenians* abounding in wealth had left *Cæſar* Coheir with his two Daughters; thereby hopeing to have ſecur'd from all wrong both his Kingdom and his Houſe; which fell out farr otherwiſe. For under colour to overſee and take poſſeſſion of the Emperors new Inheritance, his Kingdome became a prey to Centurions, his Houſe to rav'ning Officers, his Wife *Boadicea* violated with ſtripes, his Daughters with Rape, the wealthieſt of his Subjects, as it were by the will and teſtament of thir King thrown out of thir Eſtates, his kindred made little better then ſlaves. The new Colony alſo at *Camalodunum* took Houſe or Land from whome they pleas'd; terming them Slaves and Vaſſals; the Souldiers complying with the Colony, out of hope hereafter to uſe the ſame licence

licence themſelves. Moreover the Temple erected to *Claudius* as a badge of thir eternal ſlaverie, ſtood a great Eye ſore; the Prieſts whereof under pretext of what was due to the religious ſervice, waſted and imbezl'd each mans ſubſtance upon themſelves. And *Catus Decianus* the Procurator endeavour'd to bring all thir goods within the compaſs of a new confiſcation, by diſavowing the remittment of *Claudius*. Laſtly, *Seneca* in his Books a Philoſopher, having drawn the *Britans* unwillingly to borrow of him vaſt ſumms upon faire promiſes of eaſy loan, and for repayment to take thir own time, on a ſudden compells them to pay in all at once with great extortion. Thus provock't by heavieſt ſufferings, and thus invited by opportunities in the abſence of *Paulinus*, the *Icenians*, and by their Example the *Trinobantes*, and as many elſe as hated ſervitude, riſe up in Armes. Of theſe enſueing troubles many foregoing ſignes appear'd: the image of Victorie at *Camalodunum* fell down of it ſelf with her face turn'd as it were to the *Britans*; certaine women in a kind of ecſtaſie foretold of calamities to come; in the Counſel-Houſe were heard by night barbarous noiſes, in the Theater hideous howlings, in the Creek horrid ſights betok'ning the deſtruction of that Colony; heerto the Ocean ſeeming of a bloody hew, and human ſhapes at a low ebb, left imprinted on the ſand, wrought in the *Britans* new courage, in the *Romans* unwonted feares. *Camalodunum*, where the *Romans* had ſeated themſelves to dwell pleaſantly, rather then defenſively, was not fortifi'd: againſt that therefore the *Britans* make firſt aſſault. The Souldiers within were not very many. *Decianus* the Procurator could ſend them but 200, thoſe ill arm'd: and through the treachery of ſome among them, who *Dion.*

who ſecretly favour'd the inſurrection, they had deferr'd both to entrench, and to ſend out ſuch as bore not Armes; ſuch as did, flying to the Temple, which on the ſecond day was forcibly tak'n, were put all to the Sword, the Temple made a heap, the reſt rifl'd and burnt. *Petilius Cerealis* coming to his ſuccour, is in his way met, and overthrown, his whole Legion cut to peeces; he with his Horſe hardly eſcaping to the *Roman Camp*. *Decianus*, whoſe rapine was the cauſe of all this, fled into *Gallia*. But *Suetonius* at theſe tideings not diſmay'd, through the midſt of his Enemies Countrie marches to *London* (though not term'd a Colony, yet full of *Roman* Inhabitants, and for the frequency of trade and other commodities, a Town eev'n then of principal note) with purpoſe to have made there the ſeat of Warr. But conſidering the ſmallneſs of his numbers, and the late raſhneſs of *Petilius*, he chooſes rather with the loſs of one Town to ſave the reſt. Nor was he flexible to any prayers or weeping of them that beſought him to tarry there; but taking with him ſuch as were willing, gave ſignal to depart; they who through weakneſs of Sex or Age, or love of the place went not along, periſh'd by the Enemie; ſo did *Verulam a Roman free Town*. For the *Britans* omitting Forts and Caſtles, flew thether firſt where richeſt bootie, and the hope of pillageing toald them on. In this maſſacre, about 70 thouſand *Romans* and thir aſſociats in the places above-mention'd, of a certaine, loſt thir lives. None might be ſpar'd, none ranſom'd, but taſted all either a preſent or a lingring Death; no crueltie that either outrage or the inſolence of ſucceſs putt into thir heads, was left unacted. The *Roman* Wives and Virgins hang'd up all naked, had thir Breaſts cut off, and ſow'd to thir mouthes; that

Dion. L. 62.

in

in the grimneſs of Death they might ſeem to eat thir own fleſh; while the *Britans* fell to feaſting and carouſing in the Temple of *Andate* thir Goddeſs of Victorie. *Suetonius* adding to his Legion other old Officers, and Souldiers thereabout, which gatherd to him, were neer upon ten thouſand; and purpoſing with thoſe not to deferr Battel, had chos'n a place narrow, and not to be overwing'd, on his rear a Wood; being well inform'd that his Enemies were all in Front on a plain unapt for ambuſh: the Legionaries ſtood thic in order, impal'd with light armed; the Horſe on either Wing. The *Britans* in Companies and Squadrons were every where ſhouting and ſwarming, ſuch a multitude as at other time never; no leſs reckon'd then 200 and 30 thouſand, ſo feirce and confident of Victorie, that thir Wives alſo came in Waggons to ſit and behold the ſport, as they made full account, of killing *Romans:* a folly doubtleſs for the ſerious *Romans* to ſmile at, as a ſure tok'n of proſpering that day: a Woeman alſo was thir Commander in Chief. For *Boadicea* and her Daughters ride about in a Chariot, telling the tall Champions as a great encouragement, that with the *Britans* it was uſual for Woemen to be thir Leaders. A deal of other fondneſs they put into her mouth, not worth recital; how ſhe was laſh'd, how her Daughters were handl'd, things worthier ſilence, retirment, and a Vail, then for a Woeman to repeat, as don to hir own perſon, or to hear repeated before an hoſt of men. *The Greek Hiſtorian* ſetts her in the field on a high heap of Turves, in a looſe-bodied Gown declaming, a Spear in her hand, a Hare in her boſome, which after a long circumlocution ſhe was to let ſlip among them for lucks ſake, then praying to *Andate the Britiſh Goddeſs*, to talk again as fondly as before. *Dion.*

before. And this they do out of a vanity, hoping to embelliſh and ſet out thir Hiſtorie with the ſtrangneſs of our manners, not careing in the mean while to brand us with the rankeſt note of Barbariſm, as if in *Britain* Woemen were Men, and Men Woemen. I affect not ſet ſpeeches in a Hiſtorie, unleſs known for certain to have bin ſo ſpok'n in effect as they are writ'n, nor then, unleſs worth rehearſal; and to invent ſuch, though eloquently, as ſome Hiſtorians have done, is an abuſe of poſteritie, raiſing, in them that read, other conceptions of thoſe times and perſons then were true. Much leſs therefore do I purpoſe heer or elſewhere to Copie out tedious Orations without decorum, though in thir Authors compos'd ready to my hand. Hitherto what we have heard of *Caſſibelan*, *Togadumnus*, *Venuſius*, and *Caractacus* hath bin full of magnanimitie, ſoberneſs, and martial ſkill: but the truth is, that in this Battel, and whole buſineſs, the *Britans* never more plainly manifeſted themſelves to be right *Barbarians*; no rule, no foreſight, no forecaſt, experience or eſtimation, either of themſelves or of thir Enemies; ſuch confuſion, ſuch impotence, as ſeem'd likeſt not to a Warr, but to the wild hurrey of a diſtracted Woeman, with as mad a Crew at her heeles. Therefore *Suetonius* contemning thir unruly noiſes, and fierce looks, heart'ns his men but to ſtand cloſe a while, and ſtrike manfully this headleſs rabble that ſtood neereſt, the reſt would be a purchaſe, rather then a toil. And ſo it fell out; for the Legion, when they ſaw thir time, burſting out like a violent wedge, quickly broke and diſſipated what oppos'd them; all elſe held only out thir necks to the ſlayer, for thir own Carts and Waggons were ſo plac'd by themſelves, as left them but little room to eſcape between. The

Roman

Roman ſlew all; men, women, and the very drawing Horſes lay heap'd along the Field in a gory mixture of ſlaughter. About fowrſcore thouſand *Britans* are ſaid to have bin ſlain on the place; of the Enemy ſcarſe 400 and not many more wounded. *Boadicea* poyſond her ſelf, or, as others ſay, ſick'n'd and dy'd. She was of Stature big and tall, of viſage grim and ſtern, harſh of voice, her hair of bright colour flowing down to her hipps; ſhe wore a plighted Garment of divers colours, with a great gold'n Chain; button'd over all a thick robe. *Gildas* calls her the craftie lioneſs, and leaves an ill fame upon her doeings. *Dion* ſets down otherwiſe the order of this fight, and that the field was not won without much difficultie, nor without intention of the *Britans* to give another Battel, had not the Death of *Boadicea* come betweene. Howbeit *Suetonius* to preſerve Diſcipline, and to diſpatch the reliques of Warr, lodg'd with all his Armie in the op'n field; which was ſupply'd out of *Germany* with 1000 Horſe, and 10000 Foot; thence diſpers'd to Winter, and with incurſions to waſt thoſe Countries that ſtood out. But to the *Britans* famin was a worſe affliction; having left off dureing this uproar, to till the ground, and made reck'ning to ſerve themſelves on the proviſions of thir Enemie. Nevertheleſs thoſe Nations that were yet untaimd, hearing of ſome diſcord ris'n betweene *Suetonius*, and the new Procurator *Claſſicianus*, were brought but ſlowly to terms of peace; and the rigor us'd by *Suetonius* on them that yeilded, taught them the better courſe to ſtand on thir defence. For it is certaine, that *Suetonius*, though elſe a worthie man, over-proud of his Victorie, gave too much way to his anger againſt the *Britans*. *Claſſician* therefore ſending ſuch word to *Rome*,

Dion.

Tacit. vit. Agric.

Rome, that theſe ſevere proceedings would beget an endleſs Warr, *Polycletus*, no *Roman* but a Courtier, was ſent by *Nero* to examin how things went. He admoniſhing *Suetonius* to uſe more mildneſs, aw'd the Armie, and to the *Britans* gave matter of Laughter. Who ſo much eeven till then were nurs'd up in thir native libertie, as to wonder that ſo great a Generall with his whole Armie ſhould be at the rebuke and ordering of a Court Servitor. But *Suetonius* a
62. while after having loſt a few Gallies on the ſhoar, was bid reſigne his command to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who not provoking the *Britans*, nor by them provok'd, was thought to have pretended the love of peace to what indeed was his love of eaſe and ſloth. *Trebellius Maximus* follow'd his ſteps, uſurping the name of gentle Goverment to any remiſneſs or neglect of Diſcipline; which brought in firſt licence, next diſobedience into his Camp; incens'd againſt him partly for his covetouſneſs, partly by the incitement of *Roſcius Cælius* Legat of a Legion; with whom formerly diſagreeing, now that civil
Tacit. Hiſt. 8. 1. & *vit. Agric.* Warr began in the Empire, he fell to op'n diſcord; charging him with diſorder, and ſedition, and him *Cælius* with peeling and defrauding the Legions of thir pay; inſomuch that *Trebellius* hated, and deſerted of the Souldiers, was content a while to govern by baſe entreaty, and forc'd at length to flie the Land. Which notwithſtanding remain'd in good quiet, govern'd by *Cælius* and the other Legate of a Legion, both faithfull to *Vitellius* then Emperour;
65. who ſent hither *Vellius Bolanus*; under whoſe lenity,
Tacit. Hiſt. 2. & *vit. Agric.* though not tainted with other fault, againſt the *Britans* nothing was done, nor in thir own Diſcipline reform'd. *Petilius Cerealis* by appointment of *Veſpaſian*
70. ſucceeding, had to doe with the populous *Brigantes*

gantes in many Battails, and ſom of thoſe, not unbloodie. For as we heard before, it was *Venuſius* who eeven to theſe times held them tack, both himſelf remaining to the end unvanquiſh'd, and ſome part of his Countrie not ſo much as reach't. It appeares alſo by ſeveral paſſages in the Hiſtories of *Tacitus*, that no ſmall number of *Britiſh Forces* were commanded over Sea the year before to ſerve in thoſe bloodie Warrs betweene *Otho* and *Vitellius*, *Vitellius* and *Veſpaſian* contending for the Empire. To *Cerealis* ſucceeded *Julius Frontinus* in the Government of *Britain*, who by tameing the *Silures*, a people warlike and ſtrongly inhabiting, augmented much his reputation. But *Julius Agricola*, whom *Veſpatian* in his laſt year ſent hither, train'd up from his youth in the *Britiſh* Warrs, extended with victories the *Roman* Limit beyond all his Predeceſſors. His coming was in the midſt of Summer; and the *Ordovices* to welcome the new General, had hew'n in peeces a whole Squadron of Horſe, which lay upon thir bounds, few eſcapeing. *Agricola*, who perceav'd that the noiſe of this defeat had alſo in the Province deſirous of novelty, ſtirr'd up new expectations, reſolves to be before-hand with the danger: and drawing together the choice of his Legions with a competent number of Auxiliars, not beeing met by the *Ordovices*, who kept the Hills, himſelf in the head of his men hunts them up and down through difficult places, almoſt to the final extirpating of that whole Nation. With the ſame current of ſucceſs, what *Paulinus* had left unfiniſh'd he Conquers in the *Ile of Mona*: for the Ilanders altogether fearleſs of his approach, whom they knew to have no Shipping, when they ſaw themſelves invaded on a ſudden by the Auxiliars, whoſe Countrie uſe had taught them

74. *Calvis. Tacit. Hiſt. 3. & vit. Agric.*

79.

to

to ſwimm over with Horſe and Armes, were compel'd to yeild. This gain'd *Agricola* much opinion; who at his verie entrance, a time which others beſtow'd of courſe in hearing complements and gratulations, had made ſuch early progreſs into laborious and hardeſt enterpriſes. But by farr not ſo famous was *Agricola* in bringing Warr to a ſpeedie end, as in cutting off the cauſes from whence Warr ariſes. For he knowing that the end of Warr was not to make way for injuries in peace, began reformation from his own houſe; permitted not his attendants and followers to ſway, or have to doe at all in public affairs: laies on with equallitie the proportions of corn and tribute that were impos'd; takes off exactions, and the Fees of encroaching Officers, heavier then the tribute it ſelf. For the Countries had bin compell'd before, to ſitt and wait the op'ning of public Granaries, and both to ſell and to buy thir Corn at what rate the Publicans thought fitt; the Pourveyers alſo commanding when they pleas'd to bring it in, not to the neereſt, but ſtill to the remoteſt places, either by the compounding of ſuch as would be excus'd, or by cauſing a Dearth, where none was, made a particular gain. Theſe greevances and the like, he in the time of peace removing, brought peace into ſome credit; which before, ſince
80 the *Romans* coming, had as ill a name as Warr. The Summer following, *Titus then Emperor*, he ſo continually with inroads diſquieted the Enemie over all the Ile, and after terror ſo allur'd them with his gentle demeanour, that many Citties which till that time would not bend, gave Hoſtages, admitted Garriſons, and came in voluntarily. The Winter he ſpent all in worthie actions; teaching and promoting like a public Father the inſtitutes and cuſtomes

of

of civil life. The Inhabitants rude and ſcatter'd, and by that the proner to Warr, he ſo perſwaded as to build Houſes, Temples, and Seats of Juſtice; and by prayſing the forward, quick'ning the ſlow, aſſiſting all, turn'd the name of neceſſitie into an emulation. He caus'd moreover the Noblemens Sons to be bred up in liberal Arts; and by preferring the Witts of *Britain*, before the Studies of *Gallia*, brought them to affect the Latine Eloquence, who before hated the Language. Then were the *Roman* faſhions imitated, and the Gown; after a while the incitements alſo and materials of Vice, and voluptuous life, proud Buildings, Baths, and the elegance of Banqueting; which the fooliſher ſort call'd civilitie, but was indeed a ſecret Art to prepare them for bondage. Spring appearing, he took the Field, and 81.
with a proſperous expedition waſted as farr Northward as the Frith of *Taus* all that obey'd not; with ſuch a terror, as he went, that the *Roman* Army, though much hinderd by tempeſtuous weather, had the leaſure to build Forts and Caſtles where they pleas'd, none dareing to oppoſe them. Beſides, *Agricola* had this excellence in him, ſo providently to chooſe his places where to fortifie, as not another General then alive. No ſconce, or fortreſs of his raiſing was ever known either to have bin forc'd, or yeilded up, or quitted. Out of theſe impregnable by ſeige, or in that caſe duely releev'd, with continual irruptions he ſo prevail'd, that the Enemie, whoſe manner was in Winter to regain, what in Summer he had loſt, was now alike in both ſeaſons kept ſhort, and ſtreit'n'd. For theſe exploits then ex'ſteem'd ſo great, and honourable, *Titus* in whoſe *Dion. L. 66.*
Reign they were atcheev'd, was the fifteenth time ſaluted Imperator; and of him *Agricola* receav'd

trium-

82. triumphal honours. The fourth Summer, *Domitian* then ruleing the Empire, he ſpent in ſettling and confirming what the year before he had travail'd over with a running Conqueſt. And had the valour of his Souldiers bin anſwerable, he had reach'd that year, as was thought, the utmoſt bounds of *Britain*. For *Glota*, and *Bodotria*, now *Dunbritton*, and the Frith of *Edinburrow*; two oppoſite Armes of the Sea, divided only by a neck of Land, and all the Creeks and Inlets on this ſide, were held by the *Romans*, and the Enemie driv'n as it were into another
83. Iland. In his fift year he paſs'd over into the *Orcades*, as we may probably gueſs, and other Scotch Iles; diſcovering and ſubdueing Nations till then unknown. He gain'd alſo with his Forces that part of *Britain* which faces *Ireland*, as aiming alſo to conquer that Iland; where one of the Iriſh Kings driv'n out by civil Warrs, comming to him, he both gladly
84. receav'd, and retain'd him as againſt a fitt time. The Summer enſueing, on miſtruſt that the Nations beyond *Bodotria* would generally riſe, and forelay the paſſages by land, he caus'd his Fleet, makeing a great ſhew, to bear along the Coaſt, and up the Friths and Harbours; joyning moſt commonly at night on the ſame ſhoar both Land and Sea Forces, with mutual ſhouts and loud greetings. At ſight whereof the *Britans*, not wont to ſee thir Sea ſo ridd'n, were much daunted. Howbeit the *Caledonians* with great preparation, and by rumor, as of things unknown much greater, taking Armes, and of thir own accord begining Warr by the aſſault of ſundry Caſtles, ſent back ſome of thir fear to the *Romans* themſelves: and there were of the Commanders, who cloaking thir fear under ſhew of ſage advice, counſel'd the General to retreat back on this ſide *Bodotria*. He

in

in the mean while having intelligence, that the Enemie would fall on in many Bodies, devided alſo his Armie into three parts. Which advantage the *Britans* quickly ſpying, and on a ſudden uniting what before they had disjoyn'd, aſſaile by night with all thir Forces that part of the Roman Armie, which they knew to be the weakeſt; and breaking in upon the Camp ſurpris'd between ſleep and fear, had begun ſome Execution. When *Agricola*, who had learnt what way the Enemies took, and follow'd them with all ſpeed, ſending before him the lighteſt of his Horſe and Foot to charge them behind, the reſt as they came on to affright them with clamour, ſo ply'd them without reſpite, that by approach of day the *Roman* Enſigns glittering all about, had encompaſs'd the *Britans*: who now after a ſharp fight in the very Ports of the Camp, betook them to thir wonted refuge, the Woods and Fens, pourſu'd a while by the Romans, that day elſe in all appearance had ended the Warr. The Legions reincourag'd by this event, they alſo now boaſting, who but lately trembl'd, cry all to be led on as farr as there was *Britiſh* ground. The *Britans* alſo not acknowledging the loſs of that day to *Roman* valour, but to the policy of their Captaine, abated nothing of their ſtoutneſs; but arming thir youth, conveying thir Wives and Children to places of ſafty, in frequent aſſemblies, and by ſolemn covnants bound themſelves to mutual aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemy. About the ſame time a Cohort of *Germans* having ſlain thir Centurion with other *Roman* Officers in a mutiny, and for fear of puniſhment fled a Shipboard, launch'd forth in three light Gallies without Pilot: and by tide or weather carried round about the Coaſt, uſing Piracy where they landed, while their Ships held out, and as thir *Dion. L. 66.*

skill ſerv'd them, with various fortune, were the firſt diſcoverers to the *Romans* that *Britain* was an
85. Iland. The following Summer, *Agricola* having before ſent his Navie to hover on the Coaſt, and with ſundrie and uncertaine landings to divert and diſunite the *Britans*, himſelf with a power beſt appointed for expedition, wherein alſo were many *Britans*, whom he had long try'd both valiant and faithful, marches onward to the Mountaine *Grampius*, where the *Britiſh*, above 30 thouſand, were now lodg'd, and ſtill encreaſing: for neither would thir old men, ſo many as were yet vigorous and luſty, be left at home, long practis'd in Warr, and every one adorn'd with ſome badge, or cogniſance of his warlike deeds long agoe. Of whom *Galgacus*, both by birth and merit the prime Leader, to thir courage, though of it ſelf hot and violent, is by his rough Oratory, in deteſtation of ſervitude and the *Roman* yoke, ſaid to have added much more eagerneſs of fight; teſtifi'd by thir ſhouts and barbarous applauſes. As much did on the others ſide *Agricola* exhort his Souldiers to Victorie and Glorie; as much the Souldiers by his firm and well grounded Exhortations were all on a fire to the onſet. But firſt he orders them in this ſort. Of 8000 Auxiliar Foot he makes his middle ward, on the wings 3000 Horſe, the Legions as a reſerve, ſtood in array before the Camp; either to ſeiſe the Victorie won without their own hazard, or to keep up the Battaile if it ſhould need. The *Britiſh* powers on the Hill ſide, as might beſt ſerve for ſhew and terrour, ſtood in thir Battalions; the firſt on eeven ground, the next riſing behind, as the Hill aſcended. The field between rung with the noiſe of Horſemen and Chariots ranging up and down. *Agricola* doubting to be over wing'd, ſtretches out his front,

though

though ſomwhat with the thineſt, inſomuch that many advis'd to bring up the Legions: yet he not altering, alights from his Horſe, and ſtands on foot before the Enſignes. The fight began aloof, and the *Britans* had a certain skill with their broad ſwaſhing Swords and ſhort Bucklers either to ſtrike aſide, or to bear off the Darts of thir Enemies; and withall to ſend back ſhowers of thir own. Until *Agricola* diſcerning that thoſe little Targets and unweildie Glaves ill pointed, would ſoon become ridiculous againſt the thruſt and cloſe, commanded three *Batavian* Cohorts, and two of the *Tungrians* exercis'd and arm'd for cloſe fight, to draw up, and come to handy-ſtrokes. The *Batavians*, as they were commanded, running in upon them, now with their long Tucks thruſting at the face, now with their piked Targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that ſtood below; and for haſt omitting furder Execution, began apace to advance up Hill, ſeconded now by all the other Cohorts. Mean while the Horſe-men fly, the Charioters mixe themſelves to fight among the Foot; where many of thir Horſe alſo fall'n in diſorderly, were now more a miſchief to thir own, then before a terrour to thir Enemies. The Battaile was a confus'd heap; the ground unequal; men, horſes, Chariots crowded pelmel; ſometimes in little roome, by and by in large, fighting, ruſhing, felling, over-bearing, over-turning. They on the Hill, which were not yet come to blows, perceaving the fewneſs of thir Enemies, came down amain; and had enclos'd the *Romans* unawares behind, but that *Agricola* with a ſtrong Body of Horſe, which he reſerv'd for ſuch a purpoſe, repell'd them back as faſt: and others drawn off the front, were commanded to wheel about and charge them on the backs.

Then were the *Romans* clearly Maiſters; they follow, they wound, they take, and to take more, kill whom they take: the *Britans* in whole Troops with weapons in thir hands, one while flying the purſuer, anon without weapons deſperately running upon the ſlayer. But all of them, when once they got the Woods to thir ſhelter, with freſh boldneſs made head again, and the forwardeſt on a ſudden they turn'd and ſlew, the reſt ſo hamper'd, as had not *Agricola*, who was every where at hand, ſent out his readieſt Cohorts, with part of his Horſe to alight and ſcowr the Woods, they had receiv'd a foyle in the midſt of Victorie; but following with a cloſe and orderly purſuit, the *Britans* fled again, and were totally ſcatter'd; till night and wearineſs ended the chaſe. And of them that day 10 thouſand fell; of the *Romans* 340, among whom *Aulus Atticus* the Leader of a Cohort; carried with heat of youth and the fierceneſs of his Horſe too far on. The *Romans* jocond of this Victorie, and the ſpoile they got, ſpent the night; the vanquiſhed wandring about the field, both men and women, ſome lamenting, ſome calling thir loſt friends, or carrying off their wounded; others forſaking, ſome burning thir own Houſes; and it was certain enough, that there were who with a ſtern compaſſion laid violent hands on thir Wives and Children to prevent the more violent hands of hoſtile injurie. Next day appearing manifeſted more plainly the greatneſs of thir loſs receav'd; every where ſilence, deſolation, houſes burning afar off, not a man ſeen, all fled, and doubtful whether: ſuch word the ſcouts bringing in from all parts, and the Summer now ſpent, no fit ſeaſon to diſperſe a Warr, the *Roman* General leads his Armie among the *Horeſtians*; by whom Hoſtages being giv'n, he commands

mands his Admiral with a ſufficient Navie to ſaile round the Coaſt of *Britain*: himſelf with ſlow marches, that his delay in paſſing might ſerve to awe thoſe new conquer'd Nations, beſtowes his Armie in their Winter-quarters. The Fleet alſo having fetch't a proſperous and ſpeedy compaſs about the Ile, put in at the Haven *Trutulenſis*, now *Richborrow* neer *Sandwich*, from whence it firſt ſet out: and now likelieſt, if not two years before, as was mention'd, the *Romans* might diſcover and ſubdue the Iles of of *Orkney*; which others with leſs reaſon following *Euſebius* and *Oroſius*, attribute to the deeds of *Claudius*. Theſe perpetual exploits abroad won him wide fame; with *Domitian*, under whom great virtue was as puniſhable as op'n crime, won him hatred. For he maligning the renown of theſe his acts, in ſhew decreed him honours, in ſecret devis'd his ruin. *Agricola* therefore commanded home for doeing too much, of what he was ſent to doe, leſt the Province to his Succeſſor quiet and ſecure. Whether he, as is conjectured, were *Saluſtius Lucullus*, or before him ſome other, for *Suetonius* only names him Legat of *Britain* under *Domitian*; but furder of him, or ought elſe done here until the time of *Hadrian*, is no where plainly to be found. Some gather by a Preface in *Tacitus* to the Book of his Hiſtories, that what *Agricola* won here, was ſoon after by *Domitian* either through want of valour loſt, or through envy neglected. And *Juvenal* the Poet ſpeaks of *Arviragus* in theſe days, and not before, King of *Britain*: who ſtood ſo well in his reſiſtance, as not only to be talk'd of at *Rome*, but to be held matter of a glorious Triumph, if *Domitian* could take him Captive, or overcome him. Then alſo *Claudia Ruſina* the Daughter of a *Britain*, and Wife of *Pudence* a *Roman* Senator,

Camden. *Juvenal, ſat.* 2.

Eutrop. L. 7.

Dion. L. 66.

86.

nator, liv'd at *Rome*; famous by the Verſe of *Martial* for beauty, wit, and learning. The next we hear of *Britain*, is that when *Trajan* was Emperor, it revolted, and was ſubdued. Under *Adrian*, *Julius Severus*, ſaith *Dion*, govern'd the Iland, a prime Souldier of that Age, but he being call'd away to ſuppreſs the Jews then in tumult, left things at ſuch paſs, as caus'd the Emperor in perſon to take a journey hither; where many things he reform'd, and, as *Auguſtus*, and *Tiberius* counſel'd to gird the Empire within moderate bounds; he rais'd a Wall with great ſtakes driv'n in deep, and faſtn'd together, in manner of a ſtrong mound, fourſcore mile in length, to devide what was *Roman* from *Barbarian*: no antient Author names the place, but old inſcriptions, and ruin it ſelf yet teſtifies where it went along between *Solway* Frith by *Carlile*, and the mouth of *Tine*. *Hadrian* having quieted the Iland, took it for honour to be titl'd on his Coine, the Reſtorer of *Britain*. In his time alſo *Priſcus Licinius*, as appears by an old inſcription, was Lieutenant heer. *Antoninus Pius* reigning, the *Brigantes* ever leaſt patient of Foren ſervitude, breaking in upon *Genounia* (which *Camden* gueſſes to be *Guinethia* or *North-Wales*) part of the *Roman* Province, were with the loſs of much territory driv'n back by *Lollius Urbicus*, who drew another Wall of Turves; in likelihood much beyond the former, and as *Camden* proves, between the Frith of *Dunbritton*, and of *Edinborrow*; to hedge out incurſions from the North. And *Seius Saturninus*, as is collected from the digeſts, had charge heer of the *Roman* Navie. With like ſucceſs did *Marcus Aurelius* next Emperor by his Legate *Calphurnius Agricola* finiſh heer a new Warr: *Commodus* after him obteining the Empire. In his time, as among ſo many different

Spartianus in vit. Hadrian.

122.

Spartianus ibid.

Camden.

Pauſan. arcbad.

Capitolin. vit. Anton.

144.

Capitolin. Marc. Ant. Philoſ.

162.

Digeſt. L. 36.

different accounts may ſeem moſt probable, *Lucius* a ſuppos'd King in ſome part of *Britain*, the firſt of any King in *Europe*, that we read of, receav'd the Chriſtian Faith, and this Nation the firſt by publick Authority profeſs'd it: a high and ſingular grace from above, if ſinceritie and perſeverance went along, otherwiſe an empty boaſt, and to be fear'd the verifying of that true ſentence, *the firſt ſhall be laſt.* And indeed the praiſe of this action is more proper to King *Lucius* than common to the *Nation*; whoſe firſt profeſſing by publick Authority was no real commendation of their true faith; which had appear'd more ſincere and praiſe-worthy, whether in this or other Nation, firſt profeſs'd without publick Authority or againſt it, might elſe have bin but outward conformity. *Lucius* in our *Monmouth* Storie is made the ſecond by deſcent from *Marius*, *Marius* the Son of *Arviragus* is there ſaid to have overthrown the *Picts* then firſt coming out of *Scythia*, ſlain *Roderic* their King; and in ſign of Victorie to have ſet up a monument of Stone in the Country ſince call'd *Weſtmaria*; but theſe things have no foundation. *Coilus* the Son of *Marius*, all his reign, which was juſt and peaceable, holding great amity with the *Romans*, left it hereditary to *Lucius*. He (if *Beda* err not, living neer 500 years after, yet our antienteſt Author of this report) ſent to *Eleutherius* then Biſhop of *Rome*, an improbable Letter, as ſome of the Contents diſcover, deſiring that by his appointment 181
he and his people might receave Chriſtianitie. From whome two religious Doctors, nam'd in our Chronicles *Faganus* and *Derwianus*, forthwith ſent, are ſaid to have converted and baptiz'd well nigh the whole Nation: thence *Lucius* to have had the ſirname of *Levermaur*, that is to ſay, great light. Nor yet then

Beda.

Nennius.

firſt

firſt was the Chriſtian Faith heer known, but eev'n from the later daies of *Tiberius*, as *Gildas* confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as ſome ſay by *Simon Zelotes*, as others by *Joſeph* of *Arimathæa*, *Barnabas*, *Paul*, *Peter*, and thir prime Diſciples. But of theſe matters, variouſly written and believ'd, Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtorians can beſt determin: as the beſt of them do, with little credit giv'n to the particulars of ſuch uncertain relations. As for *Lucius*, they write, that after a long reigne he was buried at *Gloſter*; but dying without iſſue left the Kingdom in great commotion. By truer teſtimony we find that the greateſt Warr which in thoſe dàys buſy'd *Commodus*, was in this Iland. For the Nations Northward, notwithſtanding the Wall rais'd to keep them out, breaking in upon the *Roman* Province, waſted wide; and both the Army and the Leader that came againſt them wholly routed, and deſtroy'd; which put the Emperor in ſuch a fear, as to diſpatch hither one of his beſt Commanders, *Ulpius Marcellus*. He a man endu'd with all nobleneſs of mind, frugal, temperate, mild, and magnanimous, in Warr bold and watchful, invincible againſt lucre, and the aſſault of bribes, what with his valour, and theſe his other virtues, quickly ended this Warr that look'd ſo dangerous, and had himſelf like to have been ended by the peace which he brought home, for preſuming to be ſo worthy and ſo good under the envy of ſo worthleſs and ſo bad an Emperor. After whoſe departure the *Roman* Legions fell to ſedition among themſelves; 15 hundred of them went to *Rome* in name of the reſt, and were ſo terrible to *Commodus* himſelf, as that to pleaſe them he put to death *Perennis* the Captain of his Guard. Notwithſtanding which compliance they endeavour'd heer to ſet up another

Geſſ. Mon.

Dion. L. 72.

183

Lamprid. in comm.

186.

Empe-

Emperor againſt him; and *Helvius Pertinax* who ſucceeded Governour, found it a work ſo difficult to appeaſe them, that once in a mutiny he was left for dead among many ſlain; and was fain at length to ſeek a diſmiſſion from his charge. After him *Clodius Albinus* took the Government; but he, for having to the Souldiers made an Oration againſt Monarchie, by the appointment of *Commodus* was bid reſign to *Junius Severus*. But *Albinus* in thoſe troubleſome times enſuing under the ſhort reign of *Pertinax* and *Didius Julianus*, found means to keep in his hands the Government of *Britain*; although *Septimius Severus* who next held the Empire, ſent hither *Heraclitus* to diſplace him; but in vain, for *Albinus* with all the *Britiſh* powers and thoſe of *Gallia* met *Severus* about *Lyons* in *France*, and fought a bloody Battail with him for the Empire, though at laſt vanquiſh'd and ſlain. The Government of *Britain*, *Severus* divided between two Deputies; till then one Legat was thought ſufficient; the North he committed to *Virius Lupus*. Where the *Meatæ* riſing in Arms, and the *Caledonians*, though they had promis'd the contrary to *Lupus*, preparing to defend them, ſo hard beſet, he was compell'd to buy his peace, and a few of Pris'ners with great Sums of money. But hearing that *Severus* had now brought to an end his other Warrs, he writes him plainly the ſtate of things heer, that the *Britans* of the North made Warr upon him, broke into the Province, and harraſs'd all the Countries nigh them, that there needed ſuddenly either more aid, or himſelf in perſon. *Severus* though now much weak'nd with Age and the Gout, yet deſirous to leav ſom memorial of his warlike acheevements heer, as he had don in other places, and beſides to withdraw by this means

Capitolin. in Pert.

Capitolin. in Alb.

193.

Dion.

Did. Jul.

Spartian. in Sever.

Herod. L. 3.

Herod. L. 3.

Digeſt. L. 28. tit. 6.

Dion.

Herod. L. 3.

his two Sons from the pleaſures of *Rome*, and his Souldiers from idleneſs, with a mighty power far ſooner than could be expected, arrives in *Britain*.

208. The Northern people much daunted with the report of ſo great Forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, ſend Embaſſadors to treat of peace, and to excuſe thir former doings. The Emperor now loath to returne home without ſome memorable thing don, whereby he might aſſume to his other titles the addition of *Britannicus*, delays his anſwer and quick'ns his preparations; till in the end, when all things were in readineſs to follow them, they are diſmiſs't without effect. His principal care was to have many Bridges laid over Bogs and rott'n Moars, that his Souldiers might have to fight on ſure footing. For it ſeems through lack of tillage, the Northern parts were then, as *Ireland* is at this day; and the inhabitants in like manner wonted to retire, and defend themſelves in ſuch watrie places half naked.

209. He alſo being paſt *Adrians* wall, cut down Woods, made way through Hills, faſt'nd and fill'd up unſound and plaſhy Fens. Notwithſtanding all this induſtrie us'd, the Enemie kept himſelf ſo cunningly within his beſt advantages, and ſeldom appearing, ſo opportunely found his times to make irruption upon the *Romans*, when they were moſt in ſtraits and difficulties, ſometimes training them on with a few Cattel turn'd out, and drawn within ambuſh cruelly handling them, that many a time enclos'd in the midſt of ſloughs and quagmires, they choſe rather themſelves to kill ſuch as were faint and could not ſhift away, than leave them there a prey to the *Caledonians*. Thus loſt *Severus*, and by ſickneſs in thoſe noiſome places, no leſs than 50 thouſand men: and yet deſiſted not, though for weakneſs carried in a Litter,

Dion.

Litter, till he had march't through with his Armie to the utmoſt Northern verge of the Ile: and the *Britans* offring peace were compell'd to loſe much of thir Country not before ſubject to the *Romans*. *Severus* on the Frontiers of what he had firmly conquer'd builds a Wall croſs the Iland from Sea to Sea; which one Author judges the moſt magnificent of all his other deeds; and that he thence receav'd the ſtile of *Britannicus*; in length 132 Miles. *Oroſius* adds it fortify'd with a deep Trench, and between certain ſpaces many Towers, or Battlements. The place whereof ſom will have to be in *Scotland*, the ſame which *Lollius Urbicus* had wall'd before. Others affirm it only *Hadrians* work re-edifi'd; both plead Authorities and the ancient tract yet viſible: but this I leave among the ſtudious of theſe Antiquities to be diſcuſs't more at large. While Peace held, the Empreſs *Julia* meeting on a time certain *Britiſh* Ladies, and diſcourſing with the Wife of *Argentocoxus* a *Caledonian*, caſt out a ſcoff againſt the looſeneſs of our Iland Women; whoſe manner then was to uſe promiſcuouſly the company of divers men. Whom ſtraight the *Britiſh* Woman boldly thus anſwer'd: *Much better do we* Britans *fulfill the work of Nature than you* Romans; *we with the beſt men accuſtom op'nly; you with the baſeſt commit private adulteries.* Whether ſhe thought this anſwer might ſerve to juſtifie the practice of her Countrie, as when vices are compar'd, the greater ſeems to juſtifie the leſs, or whether the law and cuſtom wherein ſhe was bred, had wip't out of her conſcience the better dictate of Nature, and not convinc't her of the ſhame; certain it is that whereas other Nations us'd a liberty not unnatural for one man to have many Wives, the *Britans* altogether as licentious, but more abſurd and prepoſte-

210. *Spartianus in Sever.*

Eutropii Pean. Oroſ. l. 7. Caſſidor. chro. Buchanan.

Ceſar.

rous in thir licence, had one or many Wives in common among ten or twelve Husbands; and thoſe for the moſt part inceſtuouſly. But no ſooner was *Severus* return'd into the Province, then the *Britans* take Arms again. Againſt whom *Severus* worn out with labours and infirmity, ſends *Antoninus* his eldeſt Son; expreſly commanding him to ſpare neither Sex nor Age. But *Antoninus* who had his wicked thoughts tak'n up with the contriving of his Fathers death, a ſafer Enemie then a Son, did the *Britans* not much detriment. Whereat *Severus* more overcom with grief than any other maladie, ended his life at *York*. After whoſe deceaſe *Antoninus Caracalla* his impious Son concluding peace with the *Britans*, took Hoſtages and departed to *Rome*. The Conductor of all this Northern Warr *Scottiſh* Writers name *Donaldus*, he of *Monmouth Fulgenius*, in the reſt of his relation nothing worth. From hence the *Roman* Empire declining apace, good Hiſtorians growing ſcarce, or loſt, have left us little elſe but fragments for many years enſuing. Under *Gordian* the Emperour we find by the Inſcription of an Altar ſtone, that *Nonius Philippus* govern'd heer. Under *Galienus* we read there was a ſtrong and general revolt from the *Roman* Legat. Of the 30 Tyrants which not long after took upon them the ſtyle of Emperor, by many Coins found among us, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Poſthumus*, the *Tetrici* and *Marius* are conjectured to have ris'n or born great ſway in this Iland. Whence *Porphyrius* a Philoſopher then living, ſaid that *Britain* was a ſoil fruitful of Tyrants; and is noted to be the firſt Author that makes mention of the *Scottiſh* Nation. While *Probus* was Emperor, *Bonoſus* the Son of a Rhetorician, bred up a *Spaniard*, though by deſcent a *Britan*, and a matchleſs

211. *Spartianus in Sever.*

242. *Camd. Cumber.*

259. *Eumen. Paneg. Conſt.*

267. *Camden.*

Gildas.

Hieronym.

282. *Vopiſc. in Bonoſ.*

leſs drinker, nor much to be blamed, if, as they write, he were ſtill wiſeſt in his cups, having attained in warfare to high honours, and laſtly in his charge over the *German* ſhipping, willingly, as was thought, miſcarried, truſting on his power with the Weſtern Armies, and join'd with *Proculus*, bore himſelf a while for Emperor; but after a long and bloodie fight at *Cullen*, vanquiſh't by *Probus* he hang'd himſelf, and gave occaſion of a ready jeſt made on him for his much drinking; *Heer hangs a Tankard, not a man.* After this, *Probus* with much wiſdom prevented a new riſing heer in *Britain* by the ſevere loyaltie of *Victorinus* a *Moor*, at whoſe entreatie he had plac't heer that Governour which rebell'd. For the Emperor upbraiding him with the diſloyaltie of whom he had commended, *Victorinus* undertaking to ſet all right again, haſtes hither, and finding indeed the Governour to intend ſedition, by ſom contrivance not mention'd in the ſtorie, ſlew him, whoſe name ſom imagin to be *Cornelius Lelianus*. They write alſo that *Probus* gave leave to the *Spanyards*, *Gauls*, and *Britans* to plant Vines, and to make Wine; and having ſubdu'd the *Vandals*, and *Burgundians* in a great Battail, ſent over many of them hither to inhabit, where they did good ſervice to the *Romans* when any inſurrection happen'd in the Ile. After whom *Carus* Emperor going againſt the *Perſians*, left *Carinus* one of his Sons to govern among other Weſtern Provinces this Iland with imperial authority; but him *Diocleſian* ſaluted Emperor by the Eaſtern Armies overcame and ſlew. About which time *Carauſius* a man of low parentage, born in *Menapia*, about the parts of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, who through all militarie degrees was made at length Admiral of the *Belgic* and *Armoric* Seas, then much

Zozim. l. 1.

Camd.

Zozimus.

283. *Vopiſc. in Carin.*

284. *Aurel. victor. de Cæſar.*

much infested by the *Franks* and *Saxons*, what he
285. took from the Pyrats, neither restoring to the owners,
Eutrop. Oros. nor accounting to the Publick, but enriching himself,
and yet not scowring the Seas, but conniving rather
at those Sea Robbers, was grown at length too great
a Delinquent to be less than an Emperor: for fear and
guiltiness in those days made Emperors ofter than
merit: And understanding that *Maximianus Herculius*, *Diocletians* adopted Son, was com against him
into *Gallia*, pass'd over with the Navie which he
Eumen. Paneg. 2. had made his own, into *Britain*, and possess'd the
286. Iland. Where he built a new Fleet after the *Roman*
fashion, got into his power the Legion that was left
heer in Garrison, other outlandish Cohorts detain'd,
listed the very Merchants and Factors of *Gallia*, and
with the allurement of spoile invited great numbers
of other barbarous Nations to his part, and train'd
them to Sea service, wherein the *Romans* at that
time were grown so out of skill, that *Carausius* with
his Navie did at Sea what he listed, robbing on every
Coast; whereby *Maximian*, able to come no neerer
than the shoar of *Boloigne*, was forc't to conclude a
Victor. Eutrop. Peace with *Carausius*, and yeild him *Britain*; as one
fittest to guard the Province there against inroads
291. from the North. But not long after having assum'd
Constantius Chlorus to the dignity of *Cæsar*, sent him
against *Carausius*; who in the mean while had made
himself strong both within the Land and without.
Buchanan. *Galfred* of *Monmouth* writes that he made the *Picts*
his confederates; to whom lately com out of *Scythia* he gave *Albany* to dwell in: and it is observ'd
that before his time the *Picts* are not known to have
bin any where mentioned, and then first by *Eumenius*
Paneg. 2. a Rhetorician. He repair'd and fortifi'd the Wall of
Severus with 7 Castles, and a round House of smooth
stone

ſtone on the Bank of *Carron*, which River, ſaith *Ninnius*, was of his Name ſo call'd; he built alſo a Triumphal Arch in remembrance of ſome Victory there obtain'd. In *France* he held *Geſſoriacum*, or *Boloigne*; and all the *Franks* which had by his permiſſion ſeated themſelves in *Belgia*, were at his devotion. But *Conſtantius* haſting into *Gallia*, beſieges *Boloigne*, and with Stones and Timber obſtructing the Port, keeps out all relief that could be ſent in by *Carauſius*. Who ere *Conſtantius* with the great Fleet which he had prepar'd, could arrive hither, was ſlain treacherouſly by *Alectus* one of his Friends, who long'd to ſtep into his place; when he 7 years, and worthily, as ſom ſay, as others, tyrannically, had rul'd the Iland. So much the more did *Conſtantius* proſecute that opportunity, before *Alectus* could well ſtrengthen his Affairs: and though in ill weather, putting to Sea with all urgency from ſeveral Hav'ns to ſpread the terror of his landing, and the doubt where to expect him, in a Miſt paſſing the *Britiſh* Fleet unſeen, that lay ſcouting neer the Ile of *Wight*, no ſooner got a ſhoar, but fires his own Ships, to leave no hope of refuge but in Victory. *Alectus* alſo, though now much diſmaid, transfers his fortune to a Battel on the ſhoar; but encountred by *Aſclepiodotus* Captain of the *Prætorian* Bands, and deſperately ruſhing on, unmindful both of ordering his men, or bringing them all to fight, ſave the acceſſories of his Treaſon, and his outlandiſh hirelings, is overthrown, and ſlain with little or no loſs to the *Romans*, but great execution on the *Franks*. His Body was found almoſt naked in the field, for his Purple Robe he had thrown aſide, leſt it ſhould deſcry him, unwilling to be found. The reſt taking flight to *London*, and purpoſing with the pillage of that City to eſcape by Sea, are met by another

Paneg. Sigonius.

292.

Camd. ex Nin. Eumen. Pan. 3.

nother part of the *Roman* Armie, whom the Mist at Sea disjoining had by chance brought thither, and with a new slaughter chas'd through all the Streets. The *Britans*, thir Wives also and Children, with great joy go out to meet *Constantius*, as one whom they acknowledge their deliverer from bondage and insolence. All this seems by *Eumenius*, who then liv'd, and was of *Constantius* household, to have bin don in the course of one continu'd action; so also thinks *Sigonius* a learned Writer: though all others allow three years to the tyranny of *Alectus*. In these days were great store of Workmen, and excellent Builders in this Iland, whom after the alteration of things heer, the *Æduans* in *Burgundie* entertain'd to build thir Temples and publick Edifices. *Diocletian* having hitherto successfully us'd his valour against the Enemies of his Empire, uses now his rage in a bloodie persecution against his obedient and harmless Christian Subjects: from the feeling whereof neither was this Iland, though most remote, far anough remov'd. Among them heer who suffer'd gloriously, *Aron*, and *Julius* of *Caer leon* upon *Usk*, but chiefly *Alban* of *Verulam*, were most renown'd: The story of whose Martyrdom soil'd, and worse martyr'd with the fabling zeal of some idle fancies, more fond of Miracles, than apprehensive of Truth, deserves not longer digression. *Constantius* after *Diocletian*, dividing the Empire with *Galerius*, had *Britain* among his other Provinces; where either preparing or returning with victorie from an expedition against the *Caledonians*, he di'd at *York*. His Son *Constantine*, who happily came Post from *Rome* to *Boloigne* just about the time, saith *Eumenius*, that his Father was setting sail his last time hither, and not long before his death, was by him on his death-bed

Eumen.

Gildas.

Author ignot. post Marcellin. valesii 306 *Entrop. Eumen. idem Auth. ignot.*

bed nam'd, and after his Funeral, by the whole Army ſaluted Emperor. There goes a fame, and that ſeconded by moſt of our own Hiſtorians, though not thoſe the ancienteſt, that *Conſtantine* was born in this Iland, his Mother *Helena* the Daughter of *Coilus* a *Britiſh* Prince, not ſure the Father of King *Lucius*, whoſe Siſter ſhe muſt then be, for that would detect her too old by an hunderd years to be the Mother of *Conſtantine*. But to ſalve this incoherence, another *Coilus* is feign'd to be then Earl of *Colcheſter*. To this therefore the *Roman* Authors give no teſtimony, except a paſſage or two in the *Paneg yrics*, about the ſenſe whereof much is argu'd: others neereſt to thoſe times clear the doubt, and write him certainly born of *Helena*, a mean Woman at *Naiſus* in *Dardania*. Howbeit, ere his departure hence he ſeems to have had ſome bickerings in the North, which by reaſon of more urgent affairs compos'd, he paſſes into *Gallia*; and after 4 years returns either to ſettle or to alter the ſtate of things heer; until a new Warr againſt *Maxentius* call'd him back, leaving *Pacatianus* his Vicegerent. He deceaſing, *Conſtantine* his eldeſt Son enjoy'd for his part of the Empire, with all the Provinces that lay on this ſide the *Alpes*, this Iland alſo. But falling to Civil Warr with *Conſtans* his Brother, was by him ſlain; who with his third Brother *Conſtantius* coming into *Britain*, ſeis'd it as Victor. Againſt him roſe *Magnentius*, one of his chief Commanders, by ſom affirm'd the Son of a *Britan*, he having gain'd on his ſide great Forces, conteſted with *Conſtantius* in many Battels for the ſole Empire; but vanquiſh't, in the end ſlew himſelf. Somwhat before this time *Gratianus Funarius*, the Father of *Valentinian*, afterwards Emperor, had chief com-

Idem vit. Auth. ignot. Euſeb. Conſt.

307. *Sigon.*

311. *Camd.*

Ammian. L. 20. & in eum Valeſius.

340. *Libanius in Baſilico.*

343. *Camd. ex Firmico.*

350. *Camden.*

353.

command of thoſe Armies which the *Romans* kept heer. And the *Arrian* Doctrine which then divided Chriſtendom, wrought alſo in this Iland no ſmall diſturbance: a Land, ſaith *Gildas*, greedy of every thing new, ſtedfaſt in nothing. At laſt *Conſtantius* appointeda *Synod* of more than 400 Biſhops to aſſemble at *Ariminum* on the Emperors charges, which the reſt all refuſing, three only of the *Britiſh*, poverty conſtreining them, accepted; though the other Biſhops among them offer'd to have born thir charges: eſteeming it more honourable to live on the publick, than to be obnoxious to any private Purſe. Doubtleſs an ingenuous mind, and far above the Preſbyters of our Age; who like well to ſit in Aſſembly on the publick ſtipend, but lik'd not the poverty that caus'd theſe to do ſo. After this *Martinus* was Deputy of the Province; who being offended with the cruelty which *Paulus*, an inquiſitor ſent from *Conſtantius*, exercis'd in his enquiry after thoſe Military Officers who had conſpir'd with *Magnentius*, was himſelf laid hold on as an acceſſory; at which enrag'd he runs at *Paulus* with his drawn Sword; but failing to kill him, turns it on himſelf. Next to whom, as may be gueſs'd, *Alipius* was made Deputy. In the mean time *Julian*, whom *Conſtantius* had made *Cæſar*, having recover'd much Territory about *Rhine*, where the *German* inrodes before had long inſulted, to releeve thoſe Countries almoſt ruin'd, cauſes 800 Pinaces to be built; and with them by frequent Voyages, plenty of Corn to be fetch'd in from *Britain*; which eev'n then was the uſual bounty of this Soil to thoſe parts, as oft as *French* and *Saxon* Pirats hinderd not the tranſportation. While *Conſtantius* yet reign'd, the *Scots* and *Picts* breaking in

Ammian. 359.

Liban. Orat. 10. *Zozim.* L. 3. *Marcel. l.* 18 *Amm. l.* 23. 360.

in upon the Northern confines, *Julian*, being at *Paris*, ſends over *Lupicinus*, a well try'd Souldier, but a proud and covetous man; who with a power of light arm'd *Herulians*, *Batavians*, and *Meſians*, in the midſt of Winter ſailing from *Boloigne*, arrives at *Rutupiæ* ſeated on the oppoſite ſhoar, and comes to *London*, to conſult there about the Warr; but ſoon after was recall'd by *Julian* then choſen Emperor. Under whom we read not of ought happning heer; only that *Palladius* one of his great Officers was hither baniſh'd. This year *Valentinian* being Emperor, the *Attacots*, *Picts*, and *Scots* roaving up and down, and laſt the *Saxons* with perpetual landings and invaſions harryed the South Coaſt of *Britain*; ſlew *Nectaridius* who govern'd the Sea Borders, and *Bulchobaudes* with his Forces by an ambuſh. With which news *Valentinian* not a little perplext, ſends firſt *Severus* high Steward of his Houſe, and ſoon recalls him, then *Jovinus*, who intimating the neceſſity of greater ſupplies, he ſends at length *Theodoſius*, a man of try'd valour, and experience, father to the firſt Emperor of that Name. He with ſelected numbers out of the Legions, and Cohorts, croſſes the Sea from *Boloigne* to *Rutupiæ*; from whence with the *Batavians*, *Herulians*, and other Legions that arriv'd ſoon after, he marches to *London*; and dividing his Forces into ſeveral Bodies, ſets upon the diſpers'd and plundring Enemie, lad'n with ſpoile; from whom recovering the booty which they led away, and were forc'd to leave there with thir lives, he reſtores all to the right owners, ſave a ſmall portion to his wearied Souldiers, and enters *London* victoriouſly; which before in many ſtraits and difficulties, was now reviv'd as with a great deliverance. The numerous

Amm. L. 20.

364.

Amm. L. 26. 27.

367.

Enemy with whom he had to deal, was of different Nations, and the Warr ſcatter'd: which *Theodoſius*, getting daily ſom intelligence from fugitives and priſoners, reſolves to carry on by ſudden parties and ſurpriſals rather than ſet Battels; nor omits he to proclaim indemnity to ſuch as would lay down Arms, and accept of peace, which brought in many. Yet all this not ending the work, he requires that *Civilis*, a man of much uprightneſs, might be ſent him, to be as Deputy of the Iland, and *Dulcitius* a famous Captain. Thus was *Theodoſius* buſy'd, beſetting with ambuſhes the roaving Enemy, repreſſing his Rodes, reſtoring Cities and Caſtles to thir former ſafety and defence, laying every where the firm foundation of a long peace, when *Valentinus* a *Pannonian* for ſome great offence baniſh'd into *Britain*, conſpiring with certain Exiles and Souldiers againſt *Theodoſius*, whoſe worth he dreaded as the only obſtacle to his greater deſign of gaining the Ile into his power, is diſcover'd, and with his chief accomplices deliver'd over to condign puniſhment: againſt the reſt, *Theodoſius* with a wiſe lenity ſuffer'd not inquiſition to proceed too rigorouſly, leſt the fear thereof appertaining to ſo many, occaſion might ariſe of new trouble in a time ſo unſettl'd. This don, he applies himſelf to reform things out of order, raiſes on the confines many ſtrong holds; and in them appoints due and diligent watches; and ſo reduc'd all things out of danger, that the Province which but lately was under command of the Enemy, became now wholly *Roman*, new nam'd *Valentia* of *Valentinian*, and the City of *London Auguſta*. Thus *Theodoſius* nobly acquitting himſelf in all Affairs, with general applauſe of the whole Province, accompanied to the Sea-ſide, returns

368.
Amm. L.28.
Zozim. L.4.

to

to *Valentinian*. Who about 5 years after ſent hither *Fraomarius*, a King of the *Almans*, with authority of a Tribune over his own Country Forces, which then both for number and good ſervice were in high eſteem. Againſt *Gratian* who ſucceeded in the Weſtern Empire, *Maximus* a *Spanyard*, and one who had ſerv'd in the *Britiſh* Warrs with younger *Theodoſius* (for hee alſo, either with his Father, or not long after him, ſeems to have done ſomthing in this Iland) and now General of the *Roman* Armies heer, either diſcontented that *Theodoſius* was preferr'd before him to the Empire, or conſtrain'd by the Souldiers who hated *Gratian*, aſſumes the imperial Purple, and having attain'd Victorie againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, with the flowr and ſtrength of *Britain*, paſſes into *France*; there ſlays *Gratian*, and without much difficultie, the ſpace of 5 years, obtains his part of the Empire, overthrown at length and ſlain by *Theodoſius*. With whom periſhing moſt of his followers, or not returning out of *Armorica*, which *Maximus* had giv'n them to poſſeſs, the South of *Britain* by this means exhauſted of her youth, and what there was of *Roman* Souldiers on the Confines drawn off, became a prey to ſavage Invaſions; of *Scots* from the *Iriſh* Seas, of *Saxons* from the *German*, of *Picts* from the North. Againſt them, firſt *Chryſanthus* the Son of *Marcian* a Biſhop, made Deputy of *Britain* by *Theodoſius*, demean'd himſelf worthily: then *Stilicho* a man of great power, whom *Theodoſius*, dying, left Protector of his Son *Honorius*, either came in perſon, or ſending over ſufficient aid, repreſs'd them, and as it ſeems new fortifi'd the Wall againſt them. But that Legion being call'd away, when the *Roman* Armies from all parts haſted

373. *Amm. L. 29.*

Zozim. L. 4. Sigon.

Proſper. Aquitanic. chron.

383.

Gildas.

388. *Beda. Ninn.*

389.

Sozom. L. 7.

Claudian. de laud. ſtil. l. 2. & de bello Get.

to

402. to releive *Honorius* then beſieg'd in *Aſta* of *Piemont*, by *Alaric* the *Goth*, *Britain* was left expos'd as before, to thoſe Barbarous Robbers. Leſt any wonder how the *Scots* came to infeſt *Britain* from the *Iriſh* Sea, it muſt be underſtood, that the *Scots* not many years before had been driv'n all out of *Britain* by *Maximus*; and thir King *Eugenius* ſlain in fight; as thir own Annals report: whereby, it ſeems, wandring up and down, without certain ſeat, they liv'd by ſcumming thoſe Seas and ſhoars as Pyrats. But more authentic Writers confirm us, that the *Scots*, whoever they be originally, came firſt into *Ireland*, and dwelt there, and nam'd it *Scotia* long before the North of *Britain* took that name. About this time, though troubleſom, *Pelagius* a *Britan* found the leaſure to bring new and dangerous Opinions into the Church, and is largely writ againſt by St. *Auſtin*. But the *Roman* powers which were call'd into *Italy*, when once the fear of *Alaric* was over, made return into ſeveral Provinces: and perhaps *Victorinus* of *Toloſa*, whom *Rutilius* the Poet much commends, might be then Prefect of the Iland: if it were not he whom *Stilicho* ſent hither. *Buchanan* writes, that endeavouring to reduce the *Picts* into a Province, he gave the occaſion of thir calling back *Fergusius* and the *Scots*, whom *Maximus* with thir help had quite driv'n out of the Iland: and indeed the Verſes of that Poet ſpeak him to have bin active in thoſe parts. But the time which is aſſign'd him later by *Buchanan* after *Gratianus Municeps*, by *Camden*, after *Conſtantine* the Tyrant, accords not with that which follows in the plain courſe of Hiſtorie.

Ethelwerd. Sax. an. Bede Epit. in the year 565 *and Bede, L.* 2. *c.* 4.

405.

407. For the *Vandals* having broke in and waſted all *Belgia*, eev'n to thoſe places from whence eaſieſt paſ-

Zozim. L. 6.

ſage

ſage is into *Britain*, the *Roman* Forces heer, doubting to be ſuddenly invaded, were all in uproar, and in tumultuous manner ſet up *Marcus*, who it may ſeem was then Deputy. But him not found agreeable to thir heady courſes, they as haſtily kill: for the giddy favour of a mutining rout is as dangerous as thir furie. The like they do by *Gratian* a *Britiſh Roman*, in four Months advanc't, ador'd, and deſtroy'd. There was among them a common Souldier whoſe name was *Conſtantine*, with him on a ſudden ſo taken they are, upon the conceit put in them of a luckineſs in his name, as without other viſible merit to create him Emperor. It fortun'd that the man had not his name for nought; ſo well he knew to lay hold, and make good uſe of an unexpected offer. He therefore with a wak'n'd ſpirit, to the extent of his Fortune dilating his mind, which in his mean condition before lay contracted and ſhrunk up, orders with good advice his military affairs: and with the whole force of the Province, and what of *Britiſh* was able to bear Arms, he paſſes into *France*, aſpiring at leaſt to an equal ſhare with *Honorius* in the Empire. Where by the valour of *Edobecus* a *Frank*, and *Gerontius* a *Britan*, and partly by perſwaſion gaining all in his way, he comes to *Arles*. With like felicity by his Son *Conſtans*, whom of a Monk he had made a *Cæſar*, and by the conduct of *Gerontius* he reduces all *Spain* to his obedience. But *Conſtans* after this diſplacing *Gerontius*, the affairs of *Conſtantine* ſoon went to wrack: for he by this means alienated, ſet up *Maximus* one of his friends againſt him in *Spain*; and paſſing into *France*, took *Vienna* by aſſault, and having ſlain *Conſtans* in that City, calls on the *Vandals* againſt *Conſtantine*; who by him incited,

Sozom. L. 9.

Oroſ. L. 7.

408.

409.

cited, as by him before they had bin repreſs't, breaking forward, over-run moſt part of *France*. But when *Conſtantius Comes*, the Emperors General, with a ſtrong power came out of *Italy*, *Gerontius* deſerted by his own Forces, retires into *Spain*; where alſo growing into contempt with the Souldiers, after his flight out of *France*, by whom his Houſe in the night was beſet, having firſt with a few of his Servants defended himſelf valiantly, and ſlain above 300, though when his Darts and other Weapons were ſpent, he might have ſcap'd at a private dore, as all his Servants did, not enduring to leave his Wife *Nonnichia*, whom he lov'd, to the violence of an enraged crew, he firſt cuts off the head of his friend *Alanus*, as was agreed; next his Wife, though loth and delaying, yet by her entreated and importun'd, refuſing to outlive her Husband, he diſpatches: for which her reſolution *Sozomenus* an Eccleſiaſtic Writer gives her high praiſe, both as a Wife, and as a Chriſtian. Laſt of all againſt himſelf he turns his Sword; but miſſing the mortal place, with his poinard finiſhes the work. Thus farr is pourſu'd the ſtory of a famous *Britan*, related negligently by our other Hiſtorians. As for *Conſtantine*, his ending was not anſwerable to his ſetting out: for he with his other Son *Julian* beſeig'd by *Conſtantius* in *Arles*, and miſtruſting the change of his wonted ſucceſs, to ſave his head, poorly turns Prieſt; but that not availing him, is carried into *Italy*, and there put to death; having 4 years acted the Emperor. While theſe things were doing, the *Britans* at home deſtitute of *Roman* aid, and the cheif ſtrength of their own youth, that went firſt with *Maximus*, then with *Conſtantine*, not returning home, vext, and harras'd by

Sozom. L. 9.

Olympiodor. apud Photium.

Gildas. Beda.

by thir wonted Enemies, had ſent meſſages to *Honorius*; but he at that time not being able to defend *Rome* it ſelf, which the ſame year was taken by *Alaric*, adviſes them by his Letter to conſult how beſt they might for their own ſafety, and acquits them of the *Roman* juriſdiction. They therefore thus relinquiſh't, and by all right the Government relapſing into thir own hands, thenceforth betook themſelves to live after thir own Laws, defending thir bounds as well as they were able, and the *Armoricans*, who not long after were call'd the *Britans* of *France*, follow'd thir Example. Thus expir'd this great Empire of the *Romans*; firſt in *Britain*, ſoon after in *Italy* it ſelf: having born chief ſway in this Iland, though never throughly ſubdu'd, or all at once in ſubjection, if we reck'n from the coming in of *Julius* to the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, in which year *Honorius* wrote thoſe Letters of diſcharge into *Britain*, the ſpace of 462 years. And with the Empire fell alſo what before in this Weſtern World was cheifly *Roman*; Learning, Valour, Eloquence, Hiſtory, Civility, and eev'n Language it ſelf, all theſe together, as it were, with equal pace diminiſhing, and decaying. Henceforth we are to ſtear by another ſort of Authors; neer anough to the things they write, as in thir own Countrie, if that would ſerve; in time not much belated, ſome of equal age; in expreſſion barbarous; and to ſay how judicious, I ſuſpend a while: this we muſt expect; in civil matters to find them dubious Relaters, and ſtill to the beſt advantage of what they term holy Church, meaning indeed themſelves: in moſt other matters of Religion, blind, aſtoniſh'd, and ſtrook with ſuperſtition as with a Planet; in one

Zozim. L. 6.

Procopius vandalic.

Calviſ. Sigon.

word, Monks. Yet theſe Guides, where can be had no better, muſt be follow'd; in groſs, it may be true anough; in circumſtance each man as his judgment gives him, may reſerve his Faith, or beſtow it. But ſo different a ſtate of things requires a ſeveral relation.

THE

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

The Third Book.

THis third Book having to tell of accidents as various and exemplary, as the intermiſſion or change of Government hath any where brought forth, may deſerve attention more than common, and repay it with like benefit to them who can judiciouſly read: conſidering eſpecially that the late civil broils had caſt us into a condition not much unlike to what the *Britans* then were in, when the imperial juriſdiction departing hence left them to the ſway of thir own Councils; which times by comparing ſeriouſly with theſe later, and that confuſed Anarchy with this intereign, we may be able from

two ſuch remarkable turns of State, producing like events among us, to raiſe a knowledg of our ſelves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of men the *Britans* generally are in matters of ſo high enterpriſe, how by nature, induſtry, or cuſtom fitted to attempt or undergoe matters of ſo main conſequence: for if it be a high point of wiſdom in every private man, much more is it in a Nation to know it ſelf; rather than puft up with vulgar flatteries, and encomiums, for want of ſelf knowledge, to enterpriſe raſhly and come off miſerably in great undertakings. The *Britans* thus as we heard being left without protection from the Empire, and the Land in a manner emptied of all her youth, conſumed in Warrs abroad, or not caring to return home, themſelves through long ſubjection, ſervile in mind, ſloathful of body, and with the uſe of Arms unacquainted, ſuſtain'd but ill for many years the violence of thoſe barbarous Invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at firſt greedy of change, and to be thought the leading Nation to freedom from the Empire, they ſeem'd a while to beſtirr them with a ſhew of diligence in thir new affairs, ſom ſecretly aſpiring to rule, others adoring the name of liberty, yet ſo ſoon as they felt by proof the weight of what it was to govern well themſelves, and what was wanting within them, not ſtomach or the love of licence, but the wiſdom, the virtue, the labour, to uſe and maintain true libertie, they ſoon remitted thir heat, and ſhrunk more wretchedly under the burden of thir own libertie, than before under a foren yoke. Inſomuch that the reſidue of thoſe *Romans* which had planted themſelves heer, deſpairing of thir ill deportment at home, and weak reſiſtance in the field by thoſe few who had the courage,

Gild. Bede. Malms.

Zozim. L. 6.

or

or the ſtrength to bear Arms, nine years after the ſacking of *Rome* remov'd out of *Britain* into *France*, hiding for haſte great part of thir treaſure, which was never after found. And now again the *Britans*, no longer able to ſupport themſelves againſt the prevailing Enemy, ſollicit *Honorius* to thir aid, with mournful Letters, Embaſſages and vows of perpetual ſubjection to *Rome* if the *Northern* Foe were but repuls't. He at thir requeſt ſpares them one Legion, which with great ſlaughter of the *Scots* and *Picts* drove them beyond the Borders, reſcu'd the *Britans*, and advis'd them to build a Wall croſs the Iland, between Sea and Sea, from the place where *Edinburg* now ſtands to the Frith of *Dunbritton*, by the City *Alcluith*. But the material being only Turf, and by the rude multitude unartificially built up without better direction, avail'd them little. For no ſooner was the Legion departed, but the greedy ſpoilers returning, land in great numbers from thir Boats and Pinaces, waſting, ſlaying, and treading down all before them. Then are meſſengers again poſted to *Rome* in lamentable ſort, beſeeching that they would not ſuffer a whole Province to be deſtroy'd, and the *Roman* name, ſo honourable yet among them, to become the ſubject of barbarian ſcorn and inſolence. The Emperor, at thir ſad complaint, with what ſpeed was poſſible ſends to thir ſuccour. Who coming ſuddenly on thoſe ravenous multitudes that minded only ſpoil, ſurpriſe them with a terrible ſlaughter. They who eſcap'd, fled back to thoſe Seas, from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return lad'n with booties. But the *Romans* who came not now to rule, but charitably to aid, declaring that it ſtood not longer with the eaſe of thir Affairs to make ſuch laborious voyages in purſuit

418. *Ethelwerd. annal. Sax.*

Gildas.

422. *Diaconus. L.* 14.

Bede. L. 1. *c.* 2.

Gildas.

425.

purſuit of ſo baſe and vagabond robbers, of whom neither glory was to be got, nor gain, exhorted them to manage thir own warfare; and to defend like men thir Country, thir Wives, thir Children, and what was to be dearer than life, thir liberty, againſt an Enemy not ſtronger than themſelves, if thir own ſloth and cowardiſe had not made them ſo; if they would but only find hands to graſp defenſive Arms, rather than baſely ſtretch them out to receave bonds. *Bede ibid.* They gave them alſo thir help to build a new Wall, not of earth as the former, but of ſtone (both at the public coſt, and by particular contributions) traverſing the Ile in direct line from Eaſt to Weſt between certain Cities plac'd there as Frontiers to bear off the Enemy, where *Severus* had wall'd once before. *Gildas.* They rais'd it 12 Foot high, 8 broad. Along the South ſhoar, becauſe from thence alſo like hoſtility was fear'd, they place Towers by the Sea ſide at certain diſtances, for ſafety of the Coaſt. Withall they inſtruct them in the art of Warr, leaving Patterns of thir Arms and Weapons behind them; and with animating words, and many leſſons of valour to a faint-hearted audience, bid them finally farewell, without purpoſe to return. And theſe two friendly Expeditions, the laſt of any hither by the *Romans*, were perform'd, as may be gather'd out of *Beda*, and *Diaconus*, the two laſt years of *Honorius*. Thir Leader, as ſom modernly write, was *Gallio* of *Ravenna*; *Blond.* *Buchanan*, who departs not much from the Fables of his Predeceſſor *Boethius*, names him *Maximianus*, and brings againſt him to this Battel *Fergus* firſt King of *Scots* after thir ſecond ſuppos'd coming into *Scotland*, *Durſius* King of *Picts*, both there ſlain, and *Dioneth* an imaginary King of *Britain*, or Duke of *Cornwall*, who improbablie ſided *Sabellic.* with

with them againſt his own Countrie, hardlie eſcaping. With no leſs exactneſs of particular circumſtances, he takes upon him to relate all thoſe tumultuarie inrodes of the *Scots* and *Picts* into *Britain*, as if they had but yeſterday happen'd, thir order of Battel, manner of fight, number of ſlain, Articles of Peace, things whereof *Gildas* and *Beda* are utterly ſilent, Authors to whom the *Scotch* Writers have none to cite comparable in Antiquity; no more therefore to be believ'd for bare aſſertions, however quaintlie dreſt, than our *Geofry* of *Monmouth* when he varies moſt from authentick ſtorie. But either the inbred vanity of ſome, in that reſpect unworthily call'd Hiſtorians, or the fond zeal of praiſing thir Nations above truth hath ſo far tranſported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either beſt ſet off thir Hiſtorie, or magnifie thir Countrie. *Buch. L. 5.*

The *Scots* and *Picts* in manners differing ſomwhat from each other, but ſtill unanimous to rob and ſpoile, hearing that the *Romans* intended not to return, from thir Gorroghs, or Leathern Frigats pour out themſelves in ſwarms upon the Land, more confident than ever: and from the North end of the Ile to the very wall ſide, then firſt took poſſeſſion as inhabitants; while the *Britans* with idle Weapons in thir hands ſtand trembling on the Battlements, till the half-naked Barbarians with thir long and formidable Iron hooks pull them down headlong. The reſt not only quitting the Wall but Towns and Cities, leave them to the bloodie purſuer, who follows killing, waſting, and deſtroying all in his way. From theſe confuſions aroſe a Famin, and from thence diſcord and civil commotion among the *Britans*: each man living by what he rob'd or took violently from his *Gildas. Bede.*

his Neighbour. When all ſtores were conſum'd and ſpent where men inhabited, they betook them to the Woods, and liv'd by hunting, which was thir only ſuſtainment. To the heaps of theſe evils from without, were added new diviſions within the Church. For *Agricola* the Son of *Severianus* a *Pelagian* Biſhop had ſpread his Doctrine wide among the *Britans* not uninfected before. The ſounder part neither willing to embrace his opinion to the overthrow of divine grace, nor able to refute him, crave aſſiſtance from the Churches of *France*: who ſend them *Germanus* Biſhop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus* of *Troyes*. They by continual preaching in Churches, in Streets, in Fields, and not without miracles, as is writt'n, confirm'd ſom, regain'd others, and at *Verulam* in a public diſputation put to ſilence thir chief adverſaries. This reformation in the Church was beleev'd to be the cauſe of thir ſucceſs a while after in the field. For the *Saxons* and *Picts* with joint force, which was no new thing before the *Saxons* at leaſt had any dwelling in this Iland, during the abode of *Germanus* heer, had made a ſtrong impreſſion from the North. The *Britans* marching out againſt them, and miſtruſting thir own power, ſend to *Germanus* and his Collegue, repoſing more in the ſpiritual ſtrength of thoſe two men, than in thir own thouſands arm'd. They came, and thir preſence in the Camp was not leſs than if a whole Army had com to ſecond them. It was then the time of *Lent*, and the people inſtructed by the daily Sermons of theſe two Paſtors, came flocking to receave Baptiſm. There was a place in the Camp ſet apart as a Church, and trick'd up with boughs upon *Eaſter-day*. The Enemy underſtanding this, and that the *Britans* were tak'n up with Religions more than with feats of Arms,

Bede. Conſtantius.

429. *Proſp. Aquit.*

Math. Weſt. ad ann. 446.

430.

Conſtant. vit. German.

Arms, advances, after the Paſchal Feaſt, as to a certain Victorie. *German* who alſo had intelligence of thir approach, undertakes to be Captain that day; and riding out with ſelected Troops to diſcover what advantages the place might offer, lights on a Valley compaſs't about with Hills, by which the Enemy was to paſs. And placing there his ambuſh, warns them that what word they heard him pronounce aloud, the ſame they ſhould repeat with univerſal ſhout. The Enemy paſſes on ſecurely, and *German* thrice aloud cries *Halleluia*; which anſwered by the Souldiers with a ſudd'n burſt of clamour, is from the Hills and Valleys redoubled. The *Saxons* and *Picts* on a ſudden ſuppoſing it the noiſe of a huge Hoaſt, throw themſelves into flight, caſting down thir Arms, and great numbers of them are drown'd in the River which they had newly paſs'd. This Victory, thus won without hands, left to the *Britans* plenty of ſpoile, and to the perſon and the preaching of *German* greater authority and reverence than before. And the exploit might paſs for current, if *Conſtantius*, the Writer of his life in the next age, had reſolv'd us how the *Britiſh* Army came to want baptizing; for of any Paganiſm at that time, or long before, in the Land we read not, or that *Pelagianiſm* was re-baptiz'd. The place of this Victory, as is reported, was in *Flintſhire* by a Town call'd *Guid-cruc*, and the River *Allen*, where a field retains the name of *Maes German* to this day. But ſo ſoon as *German* was return'd home, the *Scots* and *Picts*, though now ſo many of them Chriſtians, that *Palladius* a Deacon was ordain'd and ſent by *Celeſtine* the Pope to be a Biſhop over them, were not ſo well reclaim'd, or not ſo many of them as to ceaſe from doing miſchief to thir Neighbours, where they found

Uſſer. Primord p. 333.

431. *Proſp. Aquit.*

Ethelwerd. Florent. Gild. Bed.

no impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. They therefore of the *Britans* who perhaps were not yet wholly ruin'd, in the ſtrongeſt and South-weſt parts of the Ile, ſend Letters to *Ætius*, then third time Conſul of *Rome*, with this ſuperſcription; *To* Ætius *thrice Conſul, the groanes of the* Britans. And after a few words thus: *The barbarians drive us to the Sea, the Sea drives us back to the barbarians; thus handied up and down between two deaths we periſh, either by the Sword or by the Sea.* But the Empire at that time overſpread with *Hunns* and *Vandals*, was not in condition to lend them aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual flying from place to place, but more afflicted with Famine, which then grew outrageous among them, many for hunger yielded to the Enemy, others either more reſolute, or leſs expos'd to wants, keeping within Woods, and Mountainous places, not only defended themſelves, but ſallying out at length gave a ſtop to the inſulting Foe with many ſeaſonable defeats; led by ſome eminent perſon, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to truſt in thir own ſtrength, but in Divine aſſiſtance. And perhaps no other heer is meant than the foreſaid deliverance by *German*, if computation would permit, which *Gildas* either not much regarded, or might miſtake; but that he tarried ſo long heer, the Writers of his life aſſent not. Finding therefore ſuch oppoſition, the *Scots* or *Iriſh* Robbers, for ſo they are indifferently term'd, without delay get them home. The *Pictts*, as before was mentioned, then firſt began to ſettle in the utmoſt parts of the Iland, uſing now and then to make inrodes upon the *Britans*. But they in the mean while thus ridd of thir Enemies, begin afreſh to till the ground; which after ceſſation yields her fruit in ſuch abundance, as had not for-

Malmsbury L.1.c.1.p.8. 446.

Gildas.

formerly bin known for many Ages. But wantonneſs and luxury, the wonted companions of plenty, grow up as faſt, and with them, if *Gildas* deſerve belief, all other vices incident to human corruption. That which he notes eſpecially to be the chief perverting of all good in the Land, and ſo continued in his days, was the hatred of truth, and all ſuch as durſt appear to vindicate and maintain it. Againſt them, as againſt the only diſturbers, all the malice of the Land was bent. Lies and falſities, and ſuch as could beſt invent them, were only in requeſt. Evil was embrac'd for good, wickedneſs honour'd and eſteem'd as virtue. And this quality thir valour had, againſt a foren Enemy to be ever backward and heartleſs; to civil broils eager and prompt. In matters of Government, and the ſearch of truth, weak and ſhallow, in falſhood and wicked deeds pregnant and induſtrious. Pleaſing to God, or not pleaſing, with them weighed alike; and the worſe moſt an end was the weightier. All things were done contrary to public welfare and ſafety; nor only by ſecular men, for the Clergy alſo, whoſe Example ſhould have guided others, were as vitious and corrupt. Many of them beſotted with continual drunkenneſs; or ſwoln with pride and willfulneſs, full of contention, full of envy, indiſcreet, incompetent Judges to determine what in the practice of life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furniſh'd with judgment, and for manners thus qualifi'd both Prieſt and Lay, they agree to chuſe them ſeveral Kings of thir own; as neer as might be, likeſt themſelves; and the words of my Author import as much. Kings were anointed, ſaith he, not of Gods anointing, but ſuch as were cruelleſt, and ſoon after as inconſiderately, without examining

the truth, put to death by thir anointers, to ſet up others more fierce and proud. As for the election of thir Kings (and that they had not all one Monarch, appears both in Ages paſt and by the ſequel) it began, as nigh as may be gueſs'd, either this Year or the following, when they ſaw the *Romans* had quite deſerted thir claim. About which time alſo *Pelagianiſm* again prevailing by means of ſome few, the *Britiſh* Clergie too weak, it ſeems, at diſpute, entreat the ſecond time *German* to thir aſſiſtance. Who coming with *Severus* a Diſciple of *Lupus* that was his former aſſociate, ſtands not now to argue, for the people generally continu'd right; but enquiring thoſe Authors of new diſturbance, adjudges them to baniſhment. They therefore by conſent of all were deliver'd to *German*; who carrying them over with him, diſpos'd of them in ſuch place where neither they could infect others, and were themſelves under cure of better inſtruction. But *Germanus* the ſame year dy'd in *Italy*; and the *Britans* not long after found themſelves again in much perplexity, with no ſlight rumour that thir old troublers the *Scots* and *Picts* had prepar'd a ſtrong invaſion, purpoſing to kill all and dwell themſelves in the Land from end to end. But ere thir coming in, as if the inſtruments of Divine juſtice had bin at ſtrife, which of them firſt ſhould deſtroy a wicked Nation, the Peſtilence foreſtalling the Sword left ſcarce alive whom to bury the dead; and for that time, as one extremity keeps off another, preſerv'd the Land from a worſe incumbrance of thoſe barbarous diſpoſſeſſors, whom the Contagion gave not leave now to enter farr. And yet the *Britans* nothing better'd by theſe heavy judgments, the one threatn'd, the other felt, inſtead of acknowledging the hand of Heaven, run to the Palace

447. *Conſtant. Bede.*

448. *Sigon. Gildas.*

Malmſ. L. 1.

of

of thir King *Vortigern* with complaints and cries of what they ſuddenly fear'd, from the *Pictiſh* invaſion. *Vortigern*, who at that time was chief rather than ſole King, unleſs the reſt had perhaps left thir Dominions to the common Enemy, is ſaid by him of *Monmouth* to have procur'd the death firſt of *Conſtantine*, then of *Conſtance* his Son, who of a Monk was made King, and by that means to have uſurp'd the Crown. But they who can remember how *Conſtantine* with his Son *Conſtance* the Monk, the one made Emperor, the other *Cæſar*, periſh'd in *France*, may diſcern the ſimple fraud of this Fable. But *Vortigern* however coming to reign, is decipher'd by truer ſtories a proud unfortunate Tyrant, and yet of the people much belov'd, becauſe his vices ſorted ſo well with theirs. For neither was he skill'd in Warr, nor wiſe in Counſel, but covetous, luſtful, luxurious, and prone to all vice; waſting the public Treaſure in gluttony and riot, careleſs of the common danger, and through a haughty ignorance, unapprehenſive of his own. Nevertheleſs importun'd and awak'd at length by unuſual clamours of the people, he ſummons a general Council, to provide ſome better means than heertofore had been us'd againſt theſe continual annoyances from the North. Wherein by advice of all it was determin'd, that the *Saxons* be invited into *Britain* againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*; whoſe breaking in they either ſhortly expected, or already found they had not ſtrength anough to oppoſe. The *Saxons* were a barbarous and heathen Nation, famous for nothing elſe but robberies and cruelties done to all thir Neighbours both by Sea and Land; in particular to this Iland, witneſs that military force which the *Romans* Emperors maintain'd heer purpoſely againſt them, under a ſpecial Commander.

Notitiæ imperii.

mander, whoſe title, as is found, on good record, was Count of the *Saxon* ſhoar in *Britain*; and the many miſchiefs done by thir landing heer, both alone and with the *Picts*, as above hath bin related, witneſs as much. They were a people thought by good Writers, to be deſcended of the *Sacæ*, a kind of *Scythian* in the North of *Aſia*, thence call'd *Sacaſons*, or Sons of *Sacæ*, who with a Flood of other Northern Nations came into *Europe*, toward the declining of the *Roman* Empire; and uſing Pyracy from *Denmark* all along theſe Seas, poſſeſs'd at length by intruſion all that Coaſt of *Germany* and the *Nether-lands*, which took thence the name of old *Saxony*, lying between the *Rhene* and *Elve*, and from thence North as far as *Eidora*, the River bounding *Holſatia*, though not ſo firmly, or ſo largely, but that thir multitude wander'd yet uncertain of habitation. Such gueſts as theſe the *Britans* reſolve now to ſend for, and entreat into thir houſes and poſſeſſions, at whoſe very name heertofore they trembl'd afar off. So much do men through impatience count ever that the heavieſt which they bear at preſent, and to remove the evil which they ſuffer, care not to pull on a greater: as if variety and change in evil alſo were acceptable. Or whether it be that men in the deſpair of better, imagine fondly a kind of refuge from one miſery to another.

Florent. Wigorn. ad an. 370.

Ethelwerd.

Ethelwerd. Malmsb. Witichind. geſt. Sax. L. 1. *p.* 3.

The *Britans* therefore, with *Vortigern*, who was then accounted King over them all, reſolve in full Council to ſend Embaſſadors of thir choiceſt men with great gifts, and ſaith a *Saxon* Writer in theſe words, deſiring thir aid. *Worthy* Saxons, *hearing the fame of your proweſs, the diſtreſſed* Britans *wearied out, and overpreſt by a continual invading Enemy, have ſent us to beſeech your aid. They have a Land fertile and*

and ſpatious, which to your commands they bid us ſurrender. Heertofore we have liv'd with freedom, under the obedience and protection of the Roman *Empire. Next to them we know none worthier than your ſelves; and therefore become ſuppliants to your valour. Leave us not below our preſent Enemies, and to ought by you impos'd, willingly we ſhall ſubmit.* Yet *Ethelwerd* writes not that they promis'd ſubjection, but only amity and league. They therefore who had chief rule among them, hearing themſelves entreated by the *Britans*, to that which gladly they would have wiſh't to obtain of them by entreating, to the *Britiſh* Embaſſy return this anſwer. Be aſſur'd henceforth of the *Saxons*, as of faithful friends to the *Britans*, no leſs ready to ſtand by them in thir need, than in thir beſt of fortune. The Embaſſadors return joyful, and with news as welcome to thir Countrie, whoſe ſiniſter fate had now blinded them for deſtruction. The *Saxons*, conſulting firſt thir Gods (for they had anſwer, that the Land whereto they went, they ſhould hold 300 years, half that time conquering, and half quietly poſſeſſing) furniſh out three long Gallies, or Kyules, with a chos'n company of warlike youth, under the conduct of two Brothers, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, deſcended in the fourth degree from *Woden*; of whom, deify'd for the fame of his acts, moſt Kings of thoſe Nations derive thir pedigree. Theſe, and either mixt with theſe, or ſoon after by themſelves, two other Tribes, or neighbouring people, *Jutes* and *Angles*, the one from *Jutland*, the other from *Anglen* by the City of *Sleſwich*, both Provinces of *Denmark*, arrive in the firſt year of *Martian* the *Greek* Emperor, from the birth of Chriſt 450, receav'd with much good will of the people firſt, then of the King, who after ſome aſſu-

Mulmſ.

Witichind.

Gildas.

Bede.

450.

Nennius. Mulmſ.

rances

rances giv'n and tak'n, beſtows on them the Ile of *Tanet*, where they firſt landed, hoping they might be made heerby more eager againſt the *Picts*, when they ſought as for thir own Countrie, and more loyal to the *Britans*, from whom they had receav'd a place to dwell in, which before they wanted. The *Britiſh Nennius* writes that theſe Brethren were driv'n into exile out of *Germany*, and to *Vortigern* who reigned in much fear, one while of the *Picts*, then of the *Romans*, and *Ambroſius*, came opportunely into the Hav'n. For it was the cuſtom in old *Saxony*, when thir numerous off-ſpring overflow'd the narrowneſs of thir bounds, to ſend them out by lot into new dwellings, wherever they found room, either vacant or to be forc't. But whether ſought, or unſought, they dwelt not heer long without employment. For the *Scots* and *Picts* were now come down, ſom ſay, as far as *Stamford* in *Lincoln-ſhire*, whom, perhaps not imagining to meet new oppoſition, the *Saxons*, though not till after a ſharp encounter, put to flight; and that more than once: ſlaying in fight, as ſome *Scotch* Writers affirm, thir King *Eugenius* the Son of *Fergus*. *Hengiſt* perceaving the Iland to be rich and fruitful, but her Princes and other inhabitants giv'n to vicious eaſe, ſends word home, inviting others to a ſhare of his good ſucceſs. Who returning with 17 Ships, were grown up now to a ſufficient Army, and entertain'd without ſuſpicion on theſe terms, that they ſhould bear the brunt of War againſt the *Picts*, receaving ſtipend and ſome place to inhabit. With theſe was brought over the Daughter of *Hengiſt*, a Virgin wondrous fair, as is reported, *Rowen* the *Britiſh* call her: ſhe by commandment of her Father, who had invited the King to a Banquet, coming in preſence with a Bowle of Wine to welcome him, and

Malmsb.

Henry Huntingd.

Ethelwerd.

Bed. Nin.

Nenn.

to

to attend on his Cup till the Feaſt ended, won ſo much upon his fancy, though already wiv'd, as to demand her in mariage upon any conditions. *Hengiſt* at firſt, though it fell out perhaps according to his drift, held off, excuſiing his meanneſs; then obſcurely intimating a deſire and almoſt a neceſſity, by reaſon of his augmented numbers, to have his narrow bounds of *Tanet* enlarg'd to the Circuit of *Kent*, had it ſtreit by donation: though *Gnorangonus* till then was King of that place: and ſo, as it were overcome by the great munificence of *Vortiger*, gave his Daughter. And ſtill encroaching on the Kings favour, got furder leave to call over *Octa* and *Ebiſſa*, his own and his Brothers Son; pretending that they, if the North were giv'n them, would ſit there as a continual defence againſt the *Scots*, while himſelf guarded the Eaſt. They therfore ſayling with forty Ships eev'n to the *Orcades*, and every way curbing the *Scots* and *Picts*, poſſeſs'd that part of the Ile which is now *Northumberland*. Notwithſtanding this they complain that thir monthly pay was grown much into arrear; which when the *Britans* found means to ſatisfie, though alleging withall that they to whom promiſe was made of wages, were nothing ſo many in number, quieted with this a while, but ſtill ſeeking occaſion to fall off, they find fault next, that thir pay is too ſmall for the danger they undergo, threatning op'n Warr unleſs it be augmented. *Guortimer* the Kings Son perceaving his Father and the Kingdom thus betray'd, from that time bends his utmoſt endeavour to drive them out. They on the other ſide making League with the *Picts* and *Scots*, and iſſuing out of *Kent*, waſted without reſiſtance almoſt the whole Land eev'n to the Weſtern Sea, with ſuch a horrid devaſtation, that Towns and Colonies over-

Gildas. Bed. Nenn.

turn'd, Preiſts and people ſlain; Temples, and Palaces, what with fire and Sword lay alltogether heap'd in one mixt ruin. Of all which multitude, ſo great was the ſinfullneſs that brought this upon them, *Gildas* adds that few or none were likely to be other then lew'd and wicked perſons. The reſidue of theſe, part overtak'n in the Mountains were ſlain; others ſubdu'd with hunger preferr'd ſlavery before inſtant death; ſom getting to Rocks, Hills, and Woods inacceſſible, preferr'd the fear and danger of any Death before the ſhame of a ſecure ſlavery; many fled over Sea into other Countries; ſome into *Holland*, where yet remain the ruins of *Brittenburgh*, an old Caſtle on the Sea, to be ſeen at low water not far from *Leiden*; either built, as Writers of thir own affirm, or ſeis'd on by thoſe *Britans* in thir eſcape from *Hengiſt*: Others into *Armorica*, peopl'd, as ſom think, with *Britans* long before; either by guift of *Conſtantine* the *Great*, or elſe of *Maximus* to thoſe *Britiſh* Forces which had ſerv'd them in Forein Wars; to whom thoſe alſo that miſcarried not with the latter *Conſtantine* at *Arles*; and laſtly, theſe exiles driv'n out by *Saxons*, fled for refuge. But the antient Chronicles of thoſe Provinces atteſt thir coming thether to be then firſt when they fled the *Saxons*, and indeed the name of *Britain* in *France* is not read till after that time. Yet how a ſort of fugitives who had quitted without ſtroke thir own Country, ſhould ſo ſoon win another, appears not; unleſs joyn'd to ſom party of thir own ſettl'd there before. *Vortiger* nothing better'd by theſe calamities, grew at laſt ſo obdurat as to commit inceſt with his daughter, tempted or tempting him out of an ambition to the Crown. For which beeing cenſur'd and condemn'd in a great Synod of *Clercs*, and *Laics*, and partly for fear

Primord. pag. 418.

Malms. L. 1. c. 1.

Huntingd. L. 1.

Ninn. Malmsb.

fear of the *Saxons*, according to the Counſel of his Peers he retir'd into *Wales*, and built him there a ſtrong Caſtle in *Radnorſhire* by the advice of *Ambroſius* a young prophet, whom others call *Merlin*. *Nenn.* Nevertheleſs *Fauſtus*, who was the Son thus inceſtuouſly begott'n under the inſtructions of *German*, or ſome of his Diſciples, for *German* was dead before, prov'd a religious man, and liv'd in devotion by the River *Remnis* in *Clamorganſhire*. But the *Saxons*, though *Gildas.* finding it ſo eaſy to ſubdue the Ile, with moſt of thir Forces, uncertain for what cauſe, return'd home: when as the eaſineſs of thir Conqueſt might ſeem rather likely to have call'd in more. Which makes more probable that which the *Britiſh* write of *Guortemir*. For he coming to Reigne, inſtead of his Fa- *Nenn.* ther depos'd for inceſt, is ſaid to have thrice driv'n and beſeig'd the *Saxons* in the Ile of *Taneth*; and when they iſſu'd out with powerful ſupplies ſent from *Saxony*, to have fought with them fowr other Battells, wherof three are nam'd; the firſt on the River *Darwent*, the ſecond at *Epiſford*, wherin *Horſa* the Brother of *Hengiſt* fell, and on the *Britiſh* part *Catigern* the other Son of *Vortiger*. The third in a Feild by *Stonar* then call'd *Lapis tituli* in *Tanet*, where he beat them into thir Ships that bore them home, glad to have ſo ſcap'd and not venturing to land again for 5 years after. In the ſpace wherof *Guortemir* dying, commanded they ſhould bury him in the Port of *Stonar*; perſwaded that his bones lying there would be terror enough to keep the *Saxons* from ever landing in that place: they, ſaith *Ninnius*, neglecting his command, buried him in *Lincoln*. But concerning theſe times, antienteſt annals of the *Saxons* relate in this manner. In the year 455. *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* 455. fought againſt *Vortigern*, in a place called *Egleſthrip*, *Bede.* now *Ethelwerd.*

Florent. *Annal. Sax.* now *Ailsford* in *Kent*; where *Horſa* loſt his life, of whom *Horſted*, the place of his burial, took name.

The Kingdome of *Kent.*

After this firſt Battel and the Death of his Brother, *Hengiſt* with his Son *Eſca* took on him Kingly Title, and peopl'd *Kent* with *Jutes*; who alſo then or not long after poſſeſs'd the Ile of *Wight*, and part of *Hamſhire* lying oppoſite. Two years after in a

457. fight at *Creganford*, or *Craford*, *Hengiſt* and his Son ſlew of the *Britans* four Cheif Commanders, and as many thouſand men: the reſt in great diſorder fly-

465. ing to *London*, with the total loſs of *Kent*. And 8 years paſſing between, he made new Warr on the *Britans*; of whom in a Battel at *Wippeds-fleot*, 12 Princes were ſlain, and *Wipped* the *Saxon* Earl, who left his name to that place, though not ſufficient to di-

473. rect us where it now ſtands. His laſt encounter was at a place not mention'd, where he gave them ſuch an overthrow, that flying in great fear they left the ſpoil of all to thir Enemies. And theſe perhaps are the 4 Battells, according to *Nennius*, fought by *Guortemir*, though by theſe Writers far differently related; and happ'ning beſides many other bickerings, in the ſpace of 20 years, as *Malmsbury* reck'ns. Nevertheleſs it plainly appears that the *Saxons*, by whomſoever, were put to hard ſhifts, being all this while fought withall in *Kent*, thir own allotted dwelling, and ſomtimes on the very edge of the Sea, which the word *Wippeds-fleot* ſeems to intimat. But *Guortemir* now dead, and none of courage left to defend the Land, *Vortigern* either by the power of his faction, or by conſent of all, reaſſumes the Goverment: and *Hengiſt* thus rid of his grand oppoſer, hearing gladly the reſtorement of his old favourer, returns again with great Forces; but to *Vortigern* whom he well knew how to handle without warring, as to his Son

Nennius.

in

in Law, now that the only Author of diſſention between them was remov'd by Death, offers nothing but all terms of new league and amity. The King both for his Wives ſake and his own ſottiſhneſs, conſulting alſo with his Peers not unlike himſelf, readily yeilds; and the place of parly is agree'd on; to which either ſide was to repair without Weapons. *Hengiſt*, whoſe meaning was not peace, but treachery, appointed his men to be ſecretly arm'd, and acquainted them to what intent. The watch-word was *Nemet eour Saxes*, that is, *Draw your Daggers*; which they obſerving, when the *Britans* were throughly heated with Wine (for the Treaty it ſeems was not without Cups) and provok'd, as was plotted, by ſom affront, diſpatch'd with thoſe Poniards every one his next man, to the number of 300. the cheif of thoſe that could do ought againſt him either in Counſel or in Field. *Vortigern* they only bound and kept in Cuſtody, untill he granted them for his ranſome three Provinces, which were called afterward *Eſſex*, *Suſſex*, and *Middleſex*. Who thus diſmiſt, retiring again to his ſolitary abode in the Country of *Guorthigirniaun*, ſo call'd by his name, from thence to the Caſtle of his own building in *North-Wales*, by the River *Tiebi*; and living there obſcurely among his Wives, was at length burnt in his Towre by fire from Heav'n at the Praier, as ſome ſay, of *German*, but that coheres not; as others, by *Ambroſius Aurelian*; of whom as we have heard at firſt, he ſtood in great fear, and partly for that cauſe invited in the *Saxons*. Who whether by conſtraint or of thir own accord after much miſcheif don, moſt of them returning back into thir own Country, left a fair opportunity to the *Britans* of avenging themſelves the eaſier on thoſe that ſtaid behinde. Repenting therefore, and with

Malmſ.

Nen. ex le-gend St. Ger. Galfrid. Monmouth.

with earneſt ſupplication imploring divine help to prevent thir final rooting out, they gather from all parts, and under the leading of *Ambroſius Aurelianus*, a vertuous and modeſt man, the laſt heer of *Roman* ſtock, advancing now onward againſt the late Victors, defeat them in a memorable Battell. Common opinion, but grounded cheifly on the *Britiſh* Fables, makes this *Ambroſius* to be a younger Son of that *Conſtantine*, whoſe eldeſt, as we heard, was *Conſtance* the Monk: who both loſt thir lives abroad uſurping the Empire. But the expreſs words both of *Gildas* and *Bede*, aſſures us that the Parents of this *Ambroſius* having heer born regal dignity, were ſlain in theſe *Pictiſh* Wars and commotions in the Iland. And if the fear of *Ambroſe* induc'd *Vortigern* to call in the *Saxons*, it ſeems *Vortigern* uſurp'd his right. I perceave not that *Nennius* makes any difference between him and *Merlin*: for that Child without Father that propheci'd to *Vortigern*, he names not *Merlin* but *Ambroſe*, makes him the Son of a Roman Conſul; but conceal'd by his mother, as fearing that the King therfore ſought his life; yet the youth no ſooner had confeſs'd his parentage, but *Vortigern* either in reward of his predictions, or as his right, beſtow'd upon him all the Weſt of *Britain*; himſelf retiring to a ſolitary life. Whoſe ever Son he was, he was the firſt, according to ſureſt Authors, that led againſt the *Saxons*, and overthrew them; but whether before this time or after, none have writt'n. This is certain, that in a time when moſt of the *Saxon* Forces were departed home, the *Britans* gather'd ſtrength; and either againſt thoſe who were left remaining, or againſt thir whole powers, the ſecond time returning obtain'd this Victory. Thus *Ambroſe* as cheif Monarch of the Ile ſucceeded

Gildas. Bed.

Vortigern;

Vortigern; to whoſe third Son *Paſcentius* he permitted the rule of two Regions in *Wales*, *Buelth*, and *Guorthigirniaun*. In his daies, ſaith *Nennius*, the *Saxons* prevail'd not much: againſt whom *Arthur*, as beeing then Cheif General for the *Britiſh* Kings, made great War; but more renown'd in Songs and Romances, then in true ſtories. And the ſequel it ſelf declares as much. For in the year 477. *Ella* the *Saxon*, with his three Sons, *Cymen*, *Pleting*, and *Ciſſa*, at a place in *Suſſex* call'd *Cymenſhore*, arrive in three Ships, kill many of the *Britans*, chaſing them that remain'd into the Wood *Andreds* League. Another Battell was fought at *Mercreds-Burnamſted*, wherin *Ella* had by far the Victory; but *Huntingdon* makes it ſo doubtful, that the *Saxons* were conſtrain'd to ſend home for ſupplies. Four year after dy'd *Hengiſt* the firſt *Saxon* King of *Kent*; noted to have attain'd that dignity by craft, as much as valour, and giving ſcope to his own cruel nature, rather then proceeding by mildneſs or civility. His Son *Oeric* ſurnam'd *Oiſc*, of whom the Kentiſh Kings were call'd *Oiſcings*, ſucceeded him, and ſate content with his Fathers winnings; more deſirous to ſettle and defend, then to enlarge his bounds: he reign'd 24 years. By this time *Ella* and his Son *Ciſſa*, beſeiging *Andredcheſter*, ſuppos'd now to be *Newenden* in *Kent*, take it by force, and all within it put to the Sword.

Nenn. 477. *Sax. an.* *Ethelw.* *Florent.* 485. *Florent.* *Huntingd.* 489. *Malmſ.* *Bed. L.* 2. *c.* 5. 492. *Camden.*

Thus *Ella* 3 years after the death of *Hengiſt*, began his Kingdome of the South-Saxons; peopling it with new inhabitants, from the Country which was then old *Saxony*, at this day *Holſtein* in *Denmark*, and had beſides at his command all thoſe Provinces which the *Saxons* had won on this ſide *Humber*. Animated with theſe good ſucceſſes, as if *Britain* were become now the field of Fortune, *Kerdic* another

The Kingdome of *South-Saxons*. *Bed. L.* 1. *c.* 15. & *L.* 2. *c.* 5.

Saxon

Sax. an. omn. *Saxon* Prince, the tenth by Linage from *Woden* an old and practis'd Souldier, who in many proſperous
495. conflicts againſt the Enemy in thoſe parts, had nurs'd up a Spirit too big to live at home with equals, coming to a certain place which from thence took the name of *Kerdic-ſhoar*, with 5 Ships, and *Kenric* his Son, the very ſame day overthrew the *Britans* that oppos'd him; and ſo effectually, that ſmaller ſkirmiſhes after that day were ſufficient to drive them
501. ſtill furder off, leaving him a large territory. After
Sax. an. omn. Huntingd. him *Porta* another *Saxon* with his two Sons *Bida* and *Megla*, in two Ships arrive at *Portsmouth* thence call'd, and at thir landing ſlew a young *Britiſh* Nobleman, with many others who unadviſedly ſet upon them.
508. The *Britans* to recover what they had loſt, draw to-
Annal. omn. Huntingd. Camden. gether all thir Forces led by *Natanleod*, or *Nazaleod*, a certain King in *Britain*, and the greateſt ſaith one; but him with 5000 of his men *Kerdic* puts to rout and ſlaies. From whence the place in *Hantſhire*, as far as *Kerdicsford*, now *Chardford*, was call'd of old *Nazaleod*. Who this King ſhould be, hath bred much
Camd. Uſſ. primord. queſtion; ſom think it to be the *Britiſh* name of *Ambroſe*; others to be the right name of his Brother, who for the terror of his eagerneſs in fight, became more known by the Sirname of *Uther*, which in the Welch Tongue ſignifies Dreadful. And if ever ſuch a King in *Britain* there were as *Uther Pendragon*, for ſo alſo the *Monmouth* Book ſurnames him, this in all likelyhood muſt be he. *Kerdic* by ſo great a blow giv'n to the *Britans* had made large room about him; not only for the men he brought with him, but for ſuch alſo of his friends, as he deſir'd to make great; for which cauſe, and withall the more to ſtrengthen
514. himſelf, his two Nefews *Stuf*, and *Withgar*, in 3
An. omn. Veſſels bring him new levies to *Kerdic* ſhoar. Who that

that they might not come ſluggiſhly to poſſeſs what others had won for them, either by thir own ſeeking, or by appointment, are ſet in place where they could not but at thir firſt coming give a proof of themſelves upon the Enemy: and ſo well they did it, that the *Britans* after a hard encounter left them Maiſters of the field. And about the ſame time, *Ella* the firſt *South-Saxon* King dy'd; whom *Ciſſa* his youngeſt ſucceeded; the other two failing before him. *Huntingdon.*

Nor can it be much more or leſs then about this time, for it was before the *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdome, that *Uffa* the 8th. from *Woden* made himſelf King of the *Eaſt-Angles*; who by thir name teſtifie the Country above mention'd; from whence they came in ſuch multitudes, that thir native ſoil is ſaid to have remain'd in the daies of *Beda* uninhabited. *Huntingdon* deferrs the time of thir coming in, to the ninth year of *Kerdic*'s Reigne: for ſaith he, at firſt many of them ſtrove for principality, ſeiſing every one his Province, and for ſom while ſo continu'd making petty Warrs among themſelves; till in the end *Uffa*, of whom thoſe Kings were call'd *Uffings*, overtop'd them all in the year 571, then *Titilus* his Son, the Father of *Redwald*, who became potent. The Kingdom of *Eaſt-Angles.* *Malmſ. L.* 1. *c.* 5. *Bed. L.* 1. *c.* 15. *Huntingd. L.* 2. *p.* 313. 315. *Bede L.* 2. *c.* 15. *Malmſ. L.* 1. *c.* 6.

And not much after the *Eaſt-Angles*, began alſo the *Eaſt-Saxons* to erect a Kingdom under *Sleda* the tenth from *Woden*. But *Huntingdon*, as before, will have it later by 11 years, and *Erchenwin* to be the firſt King. The Kingdom of *Eaſt-Saxons.*

Kerdic the ſame in power, though not ſo fond of title, forbore the name 24 Years after his arrival; but then founded ſo firmly the Kingdome of *Weſt-Saxons*, that it ſubjected all the reſt at length, and became the ſole Monarchie of *England*. The ſame year he had a Victory againſt the *Britans* at *Kerdics-* 519. The Kingdom of *Weſt-Saxons.* *Sax. an. 519.*

527. Ford, by the River *Aven*: and after 8 years, another great fight at *Kerdics* Leage, but which won the day is not by any ſet down. Hitherto hath bin collected what there is of certainty with circumſtance of time and place to be found regiſter'd, and no more then barely regiſter'd in annals of beſt note; without deſcribing after *Huntingdon* the manner of thoſe Battels and Encounters, which they who compare, and can judge of Books, may be confident he never found in any current Author whom he had to follow. But this diſeaſe hath bin incident to many more Hiſtorians: and the age wherof we now write, hath had the ill hap, more then any ſince the firſt fabulous times, to be ſurcharg'd with all the idle fancies of poſterity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on *Saxon* relaters, *Gildas*, in Antiquity far before theſe, and every way more credible, ſpeaks of theſe Wars in ſuch a manner, though nothing conceited of the *Britiſh* valour, as declares the *Saxons* in his time and before to have bin foyl'd not ſeldomer then the *Britans*. For beſides that firſt Victory of *Ambroſe*, and the interchangeable ſucceſs long after, he tells that the laſt overthrow which they receav'd at *Badon* Hill, was not the leaſt; which they in thir oldeſt annals mention not at all. And becauſe the time of this Battell, by any who could do more then gueſs, is not ſet down, or any foundation giv'n from whence to draw a ſolid compute, it cannot be much wide to inſert it in this place. For ſuch Authors as we have to follow, give the conduct and praiſe of this exploit to *Arthur*; and that this was the laſt of 12 great Battells which he fought victoriouſly againſt the *Saxons*. The ſeveral places writt'n by *Nennius* in thir Welch names, were many hunder'd years ago unknown, and ſo heer omitted. But who *Arthur* was,

Nenn.

and

and whether ever any ſuch reign'd in *Britain*, hath bin doubted heertofore, and may again with good reaſon. For the Monk of *Malmsbury*, and others whoſe credit hath ſway'd moſt with the learneder ſort, we may well perceave to have known no more of this *Arthur* 500 years paſt, nor of his doeings, then we now living; And what they had to ſay, tranſcrib'd out of *Nennius*, a very trivial writer yet extant, which hath already bin related. Or out of a *Britiſh* Book, the ſame which he of *Monmouth* ſet forth, utterly unknown to the World, till more then 600 years after the dayes of *Arthur*, of whom (as *Sigebert* in his Chronicle confeſſes) all other Hiſtories were ſilent, both Foren and Domeſtic, except only that fabulous Book. Others of later time have ſought to aſſert him by old legends and Cathedrall regeſts. But he who can accept of Legends for good ſtory, may quickly ſwell a volume with traſh, and had need be furniſh'd with two only neceſſaries, leaſure, and beleif, whether it be the writer, or he that ſhall read. As to *Artur*, no leſs is in doubt who was his Father; for if it be true as *Nennius* or his notiſt avers, that *Artur* was call'd *Mab-Uther*, that is to ſay, a cruel Son, for the fierſeneſs that men ſaw in him of a Child, and the intent of his name *Arturus* imports as much, it might well be that ſom in after ages who ſought to turn him into a Fable, wreſted the word *Uther* into a proper name, and ſo fain'd him the Son of *Uther*; ſince we read not in any certain ſtory, that ever ſuch perſon liv'd, till *Geffry* of *Monmouth* ſet him off with the ſirname of *Pendragon*. And as we doubted of his parentage, ſo may we alſo of his puiſſance; for whether that Victory at *Badon* Hill were his or no, is uncertain; *Gildas* not naming him, as he did *Ambroſe* in the former. Next, if it be true

Caradoc. Llancarvon. vit. Gild.

as *Caradoc* relates, that *Melvas* King of that Country which is now *Summerſet*, kept from him *Gueniver* his Wife a whole year in the Town of *Glaſton*, and reſtor'd her at the entreaty of *Gildas*, rather then for any enforcement, that *Artur* with all his Chivalry could make againſt a ſmall Town defended only by a moory ſituation; had either his knowledge in War, or the force he had to make, bin anſwerable to the fame they bear, that petty King had neither dar'd ſuch an affront, nor he bin ſo long, and at laſt without effect, in revenging it. Conſidering laſtly how the *Saxons* gain'd upon him every where all the time of his ſuppos'd reign, which began, as ſom write, in the tenth year of *Kerdic*, who wrung from him by long Warr the Countries of *Summerſet*, and *Hamſhire*; there will remain neither place nor circumſtance in ſtory, which may adminiſter any likelyhood of thoſe great Acts that are aſcrib'd him. This only is alleg'd by *Nennius* in *Arturs* behalf, that the *Saxons*, though vanquiſh't never ſo oft, grew ſtill more numerous upon him by continual ſupplies out of *Germany*. And the truth is, that valour may be over-toil'd, and overcom at laſt with endleſs overcomming. But as for this Battell of Mount *Badon* where the *Saxons* were hemm'd in, or beſeig'd, whether by *Artur* won, or whenſoever, it ſeems indeed to have giv'n a moſt undoubted and important blow to the *Saxons*, and to have ſtop'd thir proceedings for a good while after. *Gildas* himſelf witneſſing that the *Britans* having thus compel'd them to ſit down with peace, fell thereupon to civil diſcord among themſelves. Which words may ſeem to let in ſom light toward the ſearching out when this Battell was fought. And we ſhall find no time ſince the firſt *Saxon* War, from whence a longer peace enſu'd,

Malmſ. Antiquit. Glaſton. 529.

Primord. p. 468.

Polychronic. L. 5. c. 6.

ſu'd, then from the fight at *Kerdics* Leage in the year 527. which all the Chronicles mention, without Victory to *Kerdic*; and give us argument from the cuſtome they have of magnifying thir own deeds upon all occaſions, to preſume heer his ill ſpeeding. And if we look ſtill onward, eev'n to the 44*th* year after, wherin *Gildas* wrote, if his obſcure utterance be underſtood, we ſhall meet with very little War between the *Britans* and *Saxons*. This only remains difficult, that the Victory firſt won by *Ambroſe*, was not ſo long before this at *Badon* Seige, but that the ſame men living might be eye-witneſſes of both; and by this rate hardly can the latter be thought won by *Artur*, unleſs we reck'n him a grown youth at leaſt in the daies of *Ambroſe*, and much more then a youth, if *Malmsbury* be heard, who affirms all the exploits of *Ambroſe*, to have bin don cheifly by *Artur* as his General, which will add much unbeleif to the common aſſertion of his reigning after *Ambroſe* and *Uther*, eſpecially the fight at *Badon*, being the laſt of his twelve Battels. But to prove by that which follows, that the fight at *Kerdics* Leage, though it differ in name from that of *Badon*, may be thought the ſame by all effects; *Kerdic* 3 years after, not proceeding onward, as his manner was, on the continent, turns back his Forces on the Ile of *Wight*; which with the ſlaying of a few only in *Withgarburgh*, he ſoon maiſters; and not long ſurviving, left it to his Nefews by the Mothers ſide, *Stuff* and *Withgar*; the reſt of what he had ſubdu'd, *Kenric* his Son held; and reign'd 26 yeārs, in whoſe tenth year *Withgar* was buried in the Town of that Iland which bore his name. Notwithſtanding all theſe unlikelyhoods of *Artur*'s Reign and great acheivments, in a narration crept in I know not how among the Laws of

Gildas.

530.

Sax. an. omn.

534.

544.

Edward

Edward the *Confeſſor*, *Artur* the famous King of *Britans*, is ſaid not only to have expell'd hence the *Saracens*, who were not then known in *Europe*, but to have conquer'd *Freeſland*, and all the North Eaſt Iles as far as *Ruſſia*, to have made *Lapland* the Eaſtern bound of his Empire, and *Norway* the Chamber of *Britain*. When ſhould this be done? from the *Saxons*, till after twelve Battells, he had no reſt at home; after thoſe, the *Britans* contented with the quiet they had from thir Saxon Enemies, were ſo far from ſeeking Conqueſts abroad, that, by report of *Gildas* above cited, they fell to civil Wars at home. Surely *Artur* much better had made War in old *Saxony*, to repreſs thir flowing hither, then to have won Kingdoms as far as *Ruſſia*, ſcarce able heer to defend his own. *Buchanan* our Neighbour Hiſtorian reprehends him of *Monmouth* and others for fabling in the deeds of Arms, yet what he writes thereof himſelf, as of better credit, ſhews not whence he had but from thoſe Fables; which he ſeems content to believe in part, on condition that the *Scots* and *Picts* may be thought to have aſſiſted *Arthur* in all his Wars, and atchiev ments; whereof appears as little grownd by any credible ſtory, as of that which he moſt counts Fabulous. But not furder to conteſt about ſuch uncertainties.

547. The Kingdome of *Northumberland*. *Annal omn. Bed. Epit. Malmsb.*

In the year 547. *Ida* the *Saxon*, ſprung alſo from *Woden* in the tenth degree, began the Kingdome of *Bernicia* in *Northumberland*; built the Town *Eebbanburg*, which was after wall'd; and had 12 Sons, half by Wives, and half by Concubines. *Hengiſt* by leave of *Vortigern*, we may remember, had ſent *Octa* and *Ebiſſa* to ſeek them ſeats in the North, and there by warring on the *Picts*, to ſecure the Southern parts. Which they ſo prudently effected, that what by

by force and fair proceeding, they well quioted thoſe Countries; and though ſo far diſtant from *Kent*, nor without power in thir hands, yet kept themſelves nigh 180 years within moderation; and as inferiour Governors, they and their off-ſpring gave obedience to the Kings of *Kent*, as to the elder Family. Till at length following the example of that Age; when no leſs then Kingdoms were the prize of every fortunat Commander, they thought it but reaſon, as well as others of thir Nation, to aſſume Royalty. Of whom *Ida* was the firſt, a man in the prime of his years, and of Parentage as we heard; but how he came to wear the Crown, aſpiring or by free choiſe, is not ſaid. Certain enough it is, that his vertues, made him not leſs noble then his birth, in War undaunted, and unfoil'd; in peace tempring the aw of Magiſtracy, with a naturall mildneſs he raign'd about 12 years. In the mean while *Kenric* in a fight at *Searesbirig*, now *Salsbury*, kil'd and put to flight many of the *Britans*; and the fourth year after at *Beranvirig*, now *Banbury*, as ſome think, with *Ceaulin* his ſon put them again to flight. *Ceaulin* ſhortly after ſucceeded his father in the *Weſt-Saxons*. And *Alla* deſcended alſo of *Woden*, but by another line, ſet up a ſecond Kingdom in *Deira* the South part of *Northumberland*, and held it 30 years; while *Adda* the ſon of *Ida*, and five more after him reign'd without other memory in *Bernicia*: and in *Kent*, *Ethelbert* the next year began. For *Eſca* the ſon of *Hengiſt* had left *Otha*, and he *Emeric* to rule after him; both which without adding to their bounds, kept what they had in peace 53 years. But *Ethelbert* in length of reign equal'd both his progenitors, and as *Beda* counts, 3 years exceeded. Young at his firſt entrance, and unexperienc'd, he was the firſt raiſer of civill

Malmſb. 552. *Annal omn.* 556. *Camden.* 560. *Annal. Florent.* 561. *Malmſ.*

civill War among the *Saxons*; claiming from the priority of time wherin *Hengiſt* took poſſeſſion here, a kind of right over the later Kingdomes; and thereupon was troubleſome to thir Confines: But by them twiſe defeated, he who but now thought to
Ann. omn. 568. ſeem dreadfull, became almoſt contemptible. For *Ceaulin* and *Cutha* his Son, perſuing him into his own Territory, ſlew there in Battel, at *Wibbandun* 2 of his Earls, *Oſlac*, and *Cnebban*. By this means the *Britans*, but cheifly by this Victory at *Badon*, for the ſpace of 44 years ending in 571, receav'd no great annoyance from the *Saxons*: but the peace they enjoy'd, by ill uſing it, prov'd more deſtructive to them then War. For being rais'd on a ſudden by two ſuch eminent ſucceſſes, from the loweſt condition of thraldome, they whoſe Eyes had beheld both thoſe deliverances, that by *Ambroſe*, and this at *Badon*, were taught by the experience of either Fortune, both Kings, Magiſtrates, Preiſts, and privat men, to
Gildas. live orderly. But when the next Age, unacquainted with paſt Evils, and only ſenſible of thir preſent eaſe and quiet, ſucceeded, ſtrait follow'd the apparent ſubverſion of all truth, and juſtice, in the minds of moſt men: ſcarſe the leſt footſtep, or impreſſion of goodneſs left remaining through all ranks and degrees in the Land; except in ſome ſo very few, as to be hardly viſible in a general corruption: which grew in ſhort ſpace not only manifeſt, but odious to all the Neighbour Nations. And firſt thir Kings, among whom alſo, the Sons or Grand-Children of *Ambroſe*, were fouly degenerated to all Tyranny and vitious life. Wherof to hear ſom particulars out of *Gildas* will not be impertinent. They avenge, ſaith he, and they protect; not the innocent, but the guilty: they ſwear oft, but perjure; they wage War,

but

but civil and unjuſt War. They puniſh rigorouſly them that rob by the high way; but thoſe grand Robbers that ſit with them at Table, they honour and reward. They give alms largly, but in the face of thir Alms-deeds, pile up wickedneſs to a far higher heap. They ſit in the ſeat of Judgment, but goe ſeldome by the rule of right; neglecting and proudly overlooking the modeſt and harmleſs; but countenancing the audacious, though guilty of abominableſt crimes; they ſtuff thir Priſons, but with men committed rather by circumvention, then any juſt cauſe. Nothing better were the Clergy, but at the ſame paſs or rather worſe, then when the *Saxons* came firſt in; Unlerned, Unapprehenſive, yet impudent; ſuttle Prowlers, Paſtors in Name, but indeed Wolves; intent upon all occaſions, not to feed the Flock, but to pamper and well line themſelves: not call'd, but ſeiſing on the Miniſtry as a Trade, not as a Spiritual Charge: teaching the people, not by ſound Doctrin, but by evil Example: uſurping the Chair of *Peter*, but through the blindneſs of thir own worldly luſts, they ſtumble upon the Seat of *Judas*: deadly haters of truth, broachers of lies: looking on the poor Chriſtian with Eyes of Pride and Contempt; but fawning on the wickedeſt rich men without ſhame: great promoters of other mens Alms with thir ſet exhortations; but themſelves contributing ever leaſt; ſlightly touching the many vices of the Age, but preaching without end thir own greivances, as don to Chriſt; ſeeking after preferments and degrees in the Church more then after Heav'n; and ſo gain'd, make it thir whole ſtudy how to keep them by any Tyranny. Yet leſt they ſhould be thought things of no uſe in thir eminent places, they have thir niceties and trivial points to

keep in aw the ſuperſtitious multitude; but in true ſaving knowledge leave them ſtill as groſs and ſtupid as themſelves; bunglers at the Scripture, nay forbidding and ſilencing them that know; but in worldly matters, practis'd and cunning Shifters; in that only art and ſymony, great Clercs and Maiſters, bearing thir heads high, but thir thoughts abject and low. He taxes them alſo as gluttonous, incontinent, and daily Drunkards. And what ſhouldſt thou expect from theſe, poor Laity, ſo he goes on, theſe beaſts, all belly? ſhall theſe amend thee, who are themſelves laborious in evil doings? ſhalt thou ſee with their Eyes, who ſee right forward nothing but gain? Leave them rather, as bids our Saviour, leſt ye fall both blind-fold into the ſame perdition. Are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not ſo groſly. But what avail'd it *Eli* to be himſelf blameleſs, while he conniv'd at others that were abominable? who of them hath bin envi'd for his better life? who of them hath hated to conſort with theſe, or withſtood thir entring the Miniſtry, or endeavour'd zealouſly thir caſting out? Yet ſom of theſe perhaps by others are legended for great Saints. This was the ſtate of Goverment, this of Religion among the *Britans*, in that long calm of peace, which the fight at *Badon* Hill had brought forth. Wherby it came to paſs, that ſo fair a Victory came to nothing. Towns and Citties were not reinhabited, but lay ruin'd and waſt; nor was it long ere domeſtic War breaking out, waſted them more. For *Britain*, as at other times, had then alſo ſeveral Kings. Five of whom *Gildas* living then in *Armorica*, at a ſafe diſtance, boldly reproves by name; Firſt *Conſtantine* (fabl'd the Son of *Cador*, Duke of *Cornwall*, *Arturs* half Brother by the Mothers ſide) who then reign'd in *Cornwall* and *Devon*, a

Primord. p. 444.

Tyrannical

Tyrannical and bloody King, polluted alſo with many Adulteries: he got into his power, two young Princes of the Blood Royal, uncertain whether before him in right, or otherwiſe ſuſpected: and after ſolemn Oath giv'n of thir ſafety the year that *Gildas* wrote, ſlew them with thir two Governours in the Church, and in thir Mothers Arms, through the Abbots Coap, which he had thrown over them, thinking by the reverence of his veſture to have withheld the murderer. Theſe are commonly ſuppos'd to be the Sons of *Mordred*, *Arturs* Nefew, ſaid to have revolted from his Uncle, giv'n him in a Battel his Deaths wound, and by him after to have bin ſlain. Which things were they true, would much diminiſh the blame of cruelty in *Conſtantine*, revenging *Artur* on the Sons of ſo falſe a *Mordred*. In another part, but not expreſs'd where, *Aurelius Conanus* was King: him he charges alſo with Adulteries, and Parricide; cruelties worſe then the former; to be a hater of his Countries Peace, thirſting after civil War and Prey. His condition it ſeems was not very proſperous; for *Gildas* wiſhes him, being now left alone, like a Tree withering in the midſt of a barren field, to remember the vanity, and arrogance of his Father, and elder Brethren, who came all to untimely Death in thir youth. The third reigning in *Demetia*, or *South Wales*, was *Vortipor*, the Son of a good Father; he was when *Gildas* wrote, grown old, not in years only, but in Adulteries, and in governing full of falſhood, and cruel Actions. In his latter daies, putting away his Wife, who dy'd in divorce, he became, if we miſtake not *Gildas*, inceſtuous with his Daughter. The fourth was *Cuneglas*, imbru'd in civil War; he alſo had divorc'd his Wife, and tak'n her Siſter, who had vow'd Widdowhood: he was a great Enemy to

the Clergy, high-minded, and truſting to his wealth. The laſt, but greateſt of all in power, was *Maglocune*, and greateſt alſo in wickedneſs; he had driv'n out or ſlain many other Kings, or Tyrants; and was called the *Iſland Dragon*, perhaps having his ſeat in *Angleſey*; a profuſe giver, a great Warrior, and of a goodly ſtature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his Uncle, though in the head of a compleat Army, and took from him the Kingdom: then touch't with remorſe of his doings, not without deliberation took upon him the profeſſion of a Monk; but ſoon forſook his vow, and his wife alſo, which for that vow he had left, making love to the wife of his Brothers Son then living. Who not refuſing the offer, if ſhe were not rather the firſt that entic'd, found means both to diſpatch her own Husband, and the former wife of *Maglocune*, to make her marriage with him the more unqueſtionable. Neither did he this for want of better inſtructions, having had the learnedeſt and wiſeſt man reputed of all *Britain*, the inſtituter of his youth. Thus much, the utmoſt that can be learnt by truer ſtory, of what paſt among the *Britans* from the time of their uſeleſs Victory at *Badon*, to the time that *Gildas* wrote, that is to ſay, as may be gueſs't, from 527 to 571, is here ſet down altogether; not to be reduc't under any certainty of years. But now the *Saxons*, who for the moſt part all this while had bin ſtill, unleſs among themſelves, began afreſh to aſſault them, and ere long to drive them out of all which they yet maintain'd on this ſide *Wales*. For *Cuthulf* the Brother of *Keaulin*, by a Victory obtain'd at *Bedanford*, now *Bedford*, took from them 4 good Towns, *Liganburgh*, *Eglesburh*, *Beſington*, now *Benſon* in *Oxfordſhire*, and *Igneſham*; but outliv'd not many months his good ſucceſs. And after

571. *Camden. Annal omn.*

after 6 years more, *Keaulin*, and *Cuthwin* his Son, gave them a great overthrow at *Deorrham* in *Gloſterſhire*, ſlew three of thir Kings, *Comail*, *Condidan*, and *Farinmaile*, and took three of thir Cheif Citties; *Gloceſter*, *Cirenceſter*, and *Badenceſter*. The *Britans* notwithſtanding, after ſome ſpace of time, judging to have out-grown thir loſſes, gather to a head, and encounter *Keaulin* with *Cutha* his Son, at *Fethanleage*; whom valiantly fighting, they ſlew among the thickeſt, and as is ſaid, forc'd the *Saxons* to retire. But *Keaulin* reinforcing the fight, put them to a main rout, and following his advantage, took many Towns, and return'd lad'n with rich booty. 577. 584. *Huntingd.*

The laſt of thoſe *Saxons* who rais'd thir own acheivments to a Monarchy, was *Crida*, much about this time, firſt founder of the *Mercian* Kingdom, drawing alſo his Pedigree from *Woden*. Of whom all to write the ſeveral Genealogies, though it might be done without long ſearch, were, in my opinion, to encumber the ſtory with a ſort of barbarous names, to little purpoſe. This may ſuffice, that of *Wodens* 3 Sons, from the Eldeſt iſſu'd *Hengiſt*, and his ſucceſſion; from the ſecond, the Kings of *Mercia*; from the third, all that reign'd in *Weſt-Saxon*, and moſt of the *Northumbers*, of whom *Alla* was one, the firſt King of *Deira*; which, after his death, the race of *Ida* ſeis'd, and made it one Kingdom, with *Bernicia*, uſurping on the Childhood of *Edwin*, *Alla*'s Son. Whom *Ethelric* the Son of *Ida* expel'd. Notwithſtanding others wrjte of him; that from a poor life, and beyond hope in his old Age, coming to the Crown, he could hardly by the acceſs of a Kingdom, have overcome his former obſcurity, had not the fame of his Son preſerv'd him. Once more the *Britans*, The Kingdome of *Mercia*. *Huntingd.* *Mat. Weſtm.* *Malmsb. L.* 1. c. 3. *Florent. ad ann.* 559. 588.

tans, ere they quitted all on this ſide the Mountains,
Annal. omn. forgot not to ſhew ſome manhood; for meeting
592. *Keaulin* at *Wodens* Beorth, that is to ſay, *Wodens*
Florent. Mount in *Wiltſhire*, whether it were by thir own Forces, or aſſiſted by the *Angles*, whoſe hatred
Bed. l. 2. c. 3. *Keaulin* had incurr'd, they ruin'd his whole Army,
Malmſ. and chas'd him out of his Kingdom, from whence
Florent. flying, he dy'd the next year in poverty; Who a
Sax. an. little before, was the moſt potent and indeed ſole King of all the *Saxons* on this ſide *Humber*. But who was cheif among the *Britans* in this exploit, had bin worth remembring, whether it were *Maglocune*, of whoſe proweſs hath bin ſpok'n, or *Tendric* King of *Glamorgan*, whom the regeſt of *Landaff* recounts to have bin alwaies victorious in fight; to have reign'd about this time, and at length to have exchang'd his Crown for a Hermitage; till in the aid of his Son *Mouric*, whom the *Saxons* had reduc'd to extremes, taking armes again, he defeated them at *Tinterne* by the River *Wye*; but himſelf receav'd a mortal wound. The ſame year with *Keaulin*, whom *Keola* the Son of *Cuthulf*, *Keaulins*
593. Brother ſucceeded, *Crida* alſo the *Mercian* King deceas'd, in whoſe room *Wibba* ſucceeded; and in *Northumberland*, *Ethelfrid*, in the room of *Ethelric*; reigning 24 years. Thus omitting Fables, we have the veiw of what with reaſon can be rely'd on for truth, don in *Britain*, ſince the *Romans* forſook it. Wherin we have heard the many miſeries and deſolations, brought by divine hand on a perverſe Nation; driv'n, when nothing elſe would reform them, out of a fair Country, into a Mountanous and Barren Corner, by Strangers and Pagans. So much more tolerable in the Eye of Heav'n is Infidelity

fidelity profeſs't, then Chriſtian Faith and Religion diſhonoured by unchriſtian works. Yet they alſo at length renounc'd thir Heatheniſm; which how it came to paſs, will be the matter next related.

The End of the Third Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

The Fourth Book.

THE *Saxons* grown up now to 7 abſolute Kingdoms, and the lateſt of them eſtabliſh'd by ſucceſſion, finding thir power arrive well nigh at the utmoſt of what was to be gain'd upon the *Britans*, and as little fearing to be diſplanted by them, had time now to ſurvey at leaſure one anothers greatneſs. Which quickly bred among them, either envy, or mutual jealouſies; till the Weſt Kingdom at length grown over powerful, put an end to all the reſt. Mean while, above others, *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, who by this time had well rip'nd his young ambition, with more ability of years and experience in War, what

Bed. Malmſ.

what before he attempted to his loſs, now ſucceſsfully attains; and by degrees brought all the other Monarchies between *Kent* and *Humber*, to be at his devotion. To which deſign the Kingdom of *Weſt-Saxons*, being the firmeſt of them all, at that time ſore ſhak'n by thir over-throw at *Wodens-beorth*, and the Death of *Keaulin*, gave him no doubt a main advantage; the reſt yeilded not ſubjection, but as he earn'd it by continual Victories. And to win him *Bed. l. 1. c. 25.* the more regard abroad, he marries *Bertha* the French Kings Daughter, though a Chriſtian, and with this condition, to have the free exerciſe of her Faith, under the care and inſtruction of *Letardus* a Biſhop, ſent by her Parents along with her; the King notwithſtanding and his people retaining thir own Religion. *Beda* out of *Gildas* laies it ſadly to the *Bed. l. 1. c. 22.* *Britans* charge, that they never would voutſafe thir *Saxon* Neighbours the means of converſion: but how far to blame they were, and what hope there was of converting in the midſt of ſo much hoſtility, *Bed. l. 2. c. 1.* at leaſt falſhood from thir firſt arrival, is not now eaſie to determin. Howbeit not long after, they had the Chriſtian Faith preach't to them by a Nation *Malmſ. l. 1.* more remote, and (as a report went, accounted old *c. 3.* in *Bed is* time) upon this occaſion.

The *Northumbrians* had a cuſtom at that time, and many hunder'd yeares after not aboliſh't, to ſell thir Childern for a ſmall value into any Foren Land. Of which number, two comly youths were brought to *Rome*, whoſe fair and honeſt countnances invited *Gregory* Arch-Deacon of that Citty, among others that beheld them, pittying thir condition, to demand whence they were; it was anſwer'd by ſom who ſtood by, that they were *Angli* of the Province *Deira*, ſubjects to *Alla* King of *Northumberland*, and

by Religion Pagans. Which laſt *Gregory* deploring, fram'd on a ſudden this alluſion to the three names he heard; that the *Angli* ſo like to Angels ſhould be ſnatch't *de ira*, that is, from the wrath of God, to ſing *Haleluia:* and forthwith obtaining licence of *Benedic* the Pope, had come and preach't heer among them, had not the *Roman* people, whoſe love endur'd not the abſence of ſo vigilant a Paſtor over them, recall'd him then on his journey, though but
596. deferr'd his pious intention. For a while after, ſucceeding in the Papal Seat, and now in his fourth year, admoniſht, ſaith *Beda*, by divine inſtinct, he ſent *Auguſtine* whom he had deſign'd for Biſhop of the *Engliſh* Nation, and other zealous Monks with him, to preach to them the Goſpel. Who being now on thir way, diſcouraged by ſome reports, or thir own carnal fear, ſent back *Auſtin*, in the name of all, to beſeech *Gregory* they might return home, and not be ſent a journey ſo full of hazard, to a fierce and infidel Nation, whoſe tongue they underſtood not. *Gregory* with pious and Apoſtolic perſwaſions exhorts them not to ſhrink back frō ſo good a work, but cheerfully to go on in the ſtrength of divine aſſiſtance. The Letter it ſelf yet extant among our Writers of Eccleſiaſtic ſtory, I omit heer, as not profeſſing to relate of thoſe matters more then what mixes aptly with civil affairs. The Abbot *Auſtin*, for ſo he was ordain'd over the reſt, reincourag'd by the exhortations of *Gregory*, and his fellows by the Letter which
597. he brought them, came ſafe to the Ile of *Tanet*, in number about 40, beſides ſome of the French Nation whom they took along as Interpreters. *Ethelbert* the King, to whom *Auſtin* at his landing had ſent a new and wondrous meſſage, that he came from *Rome* to proffer Heav'n and eternal happineſs in the know-

knowledge of another God then the *Saxons* knew, appoints them to remain where they landed, and neceſſaries to be provided them, conſulting in the mean time what was to be done. And after certain days coming into the Iland, choſe a place to meet them under the open Sky, poſſeſt with an old perſwaſion, that all Spells, if they ſhould uſe any to deceive him, ſo it were not within doors, would be unavailable. They on the other ſide call'd to his preſence, advancing for thir Standard, a ſilver croſs, and the painted image of our Saviour, came ſlowly forward ſinging the ſolemn Litanies: which wrought in *Ethelbert* more ſuſpition perhaps that they us'd enchantments; till ſitting down as the King will'd them, they there preach'd to him, and all in that aſſembly, the tidings of Salvation. Whom having heard attentively, the King thus anſwer'd. Fair indeed and ample are the promiſes which ye bring, and ſuch things as have the appearance in them of much good; yet ſuch as being new and uncertain, I cannot haſtily aſſent to, quitting the Religion which from my Anceſtors, with all the *Engliſh* Nation, ſo many years I have retain'd. Nevertheleſs becauſe ye are ſtrangers, and have endur'd ſo long a journey, to impart us the knowledge of things, which I perſwade me you believe to be the trueſt and the beſt, ye may be ſure we ſhall not recompence you with any moleſtation, but ſhall provide rather how we may friendlieſt entertain ye; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching gain to your belief. And accordingly thir reſidence he allotted them in *Doroverne* or *Canturbury* his chief Citty, and made proviſion for thir maintenance, with free leave to preach their doctrine where they pleaſed. By which, and by the example of thir holy life, ſpent in prayer, faſting, and continual labour in the

converſion of Souls, they won many; on whoſe bounty and the Kings, receiving only what was neceſſary, they ſubſiſted. There ſtood without the Citty, on the Eaſt-ſide, an ancient Church built in honour of St. *Martin*, while yet the *Romans* remain'd heer: in which *Bertha* the Queen went out uſually to pray: Heer they alſo began firſt to preach, baptize, and openly to exerciſe divine worſhip. But when the King himſelf convinc't by thir good life & miracles, became Chriſtian, and was baptized, which came to paſs in the very firſt year of thir arrival, then multitudes daily, conforming to thir Prince, thought it honour to be reckon'd among thoſe of his faith. To whom *Ethelbert* indeed principally ſhewed his favour, but compell'd none. For ſo he had bin taught by them who were both the Inſtructors and the Authors of his faith, that Chriſtian Religion ought to be voluntary, not compell'd. About this time *Kelwulf* the Son of *Cutha Keaulins* Brother reign'd over the *Weſt-Saxons*, after his Brother *Keola* or *Kelric*, and had continual War either with *Engliſh*, *Welch*, *Picts*, or *Scots*. But *Auſtin*, whom with his fellows, *Ethelbert* now had endow'd with a better place for thir abode in the Citty, and other poſſeſſions neceſſary to livelihood, croſſing into *France*, was by the Archbiſhop of *Arles*, at the appointment of Pope *Gregory*, ordain'd Archbiſhop of the *Engliſh*: and returning, ſent to *Rome Laurence* and *Peter*, two of his aſſociates, to acquaint the Pope of his good ſucceſs in *England*, and to be reſolv'd of certain Theological, or rather Levitical queſtions: with anſwers to which, not proper in this place, *Gregory* ſends alſo to the great work of converting, that went on ſo happily, a ſupply of labourers, *Mellitus*, *Juſtus*, *Paulinus*, *Ruſinian*, and many others; who what they were,

598.

Bed. l. 2. c. 5.

Sax. an. Malmſ. 601.

Bed. l. 1. c. 27.

were, may be gueſs't by the ſtuff which they brought with them, veſſels and veſtments for the Altar, Coaps, reliques, and for the Archbiſhop *Auſtin* a Pall to ſay Maſs in: to ſuch a rank ſuperſtition that Age was grown, though ſome of them yet retaining an emulation of Apoſtolic zeal: laſtly, to *Ethelbert* they brought a letter with many preſents. *Auſtin* thus exalted to Archiepiſcopal authority, recover'd from the ruins and other profane uſes, a Chriſtian Church in *Canturbury* built of old by the *Romans*; which he dedicated by the name of Chriſts Church, and joyning to it built a ſeat for himſelf and his ſucceſſors; a Monaſtery alſo neer the Citty Eaſtward, where *Ethelbert* at his motion built St. *Peters*, and enrich't it with great endowments, to be a place of burial for the Archbiſhops and Kings of *Kent*: ſo quickly they ſtep't up into fellowſhip of pomp with Kings. While thus *Ethelbert* and his people had thir minds intent, *Bed.l.2.c.34.* *Ethelfrid* the *Northumbrian* King, was not leſs buſied in far different affairs: for being altogether warlike, and covetous of fame, he more waſted the *Britans* then any *Saxon* King before him; winning from them large Territories, which either he made tributary, or planted with his own Subjects. Whence *Edan* King of thoſe *Scots* that dwelt in *Britain*, jealous of his ſucceſſes, came againſt him with a mighty Army, to a place call'd *Degſaſtan*; but in the fight looſing moſt of his men, himſelf with a few eſcap'd: only *Theobald* the Kings brother, and the whole wing which he commanded, unfortunately cut off, made the Victory to *Ethelfrid* leſs intire. Yet from that time no King of *Scots* in hoſtile manner durſt paſs into *Britain* for a hunderd and more years after: and what ſome years before, *Kelwulf* the *Weſt-Saxon* is annal'd to have done againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, paſſing

603.

ſing through the Land of *Ethelfrid* a King ſo potent, unleſs in his aid and alliance, is not likely. *Buchanan* writes as if *Ethelfrid*, aſſiſted by *Keaulin* whom he miſtitles King of *Eaſt-Saxons*, had before this time a battel with *Aidan*, wherein *Cutha Keaulins* ſon was ſlain. But *Cutha*, as is above written from better authority, was ſlain in fight againſt the *Welch* 20 years before.

604. The number of Chriſtians began now to increaſe ſo
Bed. l. 2. c. 3 faſt, that *Auguſtine* ordaining Biſhops under him, two of his aſſiſtants *Mellitus* and *Juſtus*, ſent them out both to the work of thir miniſtry. And *Mellitus* by preaching converted the *Eaſt-Saxons*, over whom *Sebert* the ſon of *Sleda*, by permiſſion of *Ethelbert*, being born of his ſiſter *Ricula*, then reign'd. Whoſe converſion *Ethelbert* to gratulate, built them the great Church of St. *Paul* in *London* to be their Biſhops Cathedral; as *Juſtus* alſo had his built at *Rocheſter*, and both gifted by the ſame King with fair poſſeſſions. Hitherto *Auſtin* laboured well among Infidels, but not with like commendation ſoon after among Chriſtians. For by means of *Ethelbert* ſummoning the *Britan* Biſhops to a place on the edge of *Worceſterſhire*, call'd from that time *Auguſtines* Oke, he requires them to conform with him in the ſame day of celebrating *Eaſter*, and many other points wherein they differ'd from the rites of *Rome*: which when they refus'd to do, not prevailing by diſpute, he appeals to a miracle, reſtoring to ſight a blind man whom the *Britans* could not cure. At this ſomething mov'd, though not minded to recede from thir own opinions without furder conſultation, they requeſt a ſecond meeting: to which came ſeven *Britan* Biſhops, with many other lerned men, eſpecially from the famous Monaſtery of *Bangor*, in which were ſaid to be ſo many Monks, living all by thir own labour,

that

that being divided under ſeven Rectors, none had fewer then 300. One man there was who ſtaid behind, a Hermit by the life he led, who by his wiſdom effected more then all the reſt who went: being demanded, for they held him as an Oracle, how they might know *Auſtin* to be a man from God, that they might follow him, he anſwer'd, that if they found him meek and humble, they ſhould be taught by him, for it was likelieſt to be the yoke of Chriſt, both what he bore himſelf, and would have them bear; but if he bore himſelf proudly, that they ſhould not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. They took his advice, and haſted to the place of meeting. Whom *Auſtin* being already there before them, neither aroſe to meet, nor receiv'd in any brotherly ſort, but ſat all the while pontifically in his Chair. Whereat the *Britans*, as they were counſel'd by the holy man, neglected him, and neither hark'n'd to his propoſals of conformity, nor would acknowledge him for an Archbiſhop: And in name of the reſt, *Dinothus* then Abbot of *Bangor*, is ſaid, thus ſagely to have anſwer'd him. As to the ſubjection which you require, be thus perſwaded of us, that in the bond of love and charity we are all Subjects and Servants to the Church of God, yea to the Pope of *Rome*, and every good Chriſtian to help them forward, both by word and deed, to be the Childern of God: other obedience then this we know not to be due to him whom you term the Pope; and this obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Chriſtian continually. Beſides, we are govern'd under God by the Biſhop of *Caerleon*, who is to overſee us in ſpiritual matters. To which *Auſtin* thus preſaging, ſome ſay menacing, replies, ſince ye refuſe to accept of peace with your brethren,

Spelman. concil. pag. 108.

brethren, ye ſhall have War from your enemies; and ſince ye will not with us preach the word of life, to whom ye ought, from their hands ye ſhall receive death. This, though Writers agree not whether *Auſtin* ſpake it as his prophecy, or as his plot againſt the *Britans*, fell out accordingly. For many years were not paſt, when *Ethelfrid*, whether of his own accord, or at the requeſt of *Ethelbert* incens't by *Auſtin*, with a powerful hoſt came to *Weſtcheſter*, then *Caer-legion*. Where being met by the *Britiſh* Forces, and both ſides in readineſs to give the onſet, he diſcernes a company of men, not habited for War, ſtanding together in a place of ſome ſafety; and by them a Squadron arm'd. Whom having learnt upon ſome enquiry to be Prieſts and Monks, aſſembl'd thither after three days faſting, to pray for the good ſucceſs of thir Forces againſt him, therefore they firſt, ſaith he, ſhall feel our Swords; for they who pray againſt us, fight heavieſt againſt us by thir prayers, and are our dangerouſeſt enemies. And with that turns his firſt charge upon the Monks: *Brocmail* the Captain ſet to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above 1200 Monks to a ſudden maſſacher, whereof ſcarſe fifty ſcap'd, but not ſo eaſie work found *Ethelfrid* againſt another part of *Britans* that ſtood in arms, whom though at laſt he overthrew, yet with ſlaughter nigh as great to his own ſouldiers. To excuſe *Auſtin* of this bloodſhed, leſt ſome might think it his revengeful policy, *Beda* writes that he was dead long before, although if the time of his ſitting Archbiſhop be right computed ſixteen years, he muſt ſurvive this action. Other juſt ground of charging him with this imputation appears not, ſave what evidently we have from *Geffry Monmouth*, whoſe weight we know. The ſame year

Sax. an. Huntingd. 607.

Malmſ. geſt. pont. l. 1.

year *Kelwulf* made War on the *South-Saxons*, bloody, ſaith *Huntingdon*, to both ſides, but moſt to them of the *South*: and four years after dying left the Government of *Weſt-Saxons* to *Kinegils* and *Cuichelm* the ſons of his brother *Keola*. Others, as *Florent* of *Worſter* and *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter*, will have *Cuichelm* ſon of *Kinegils*, but admitted to reign with his father, in whoſe third year they are recorded with joynt Forces or conduct to have fought againſt the *Britans* in *Beandune*, now *Bindon* in *Dorſetſhire*, and to have ſlain of them above two thouſand. More memorable was the ſecond year following, by the death of *Ethelbert* the firſt Chriſtian King of *Saxons*, and no leſs a favourer of all civility in that rude age. He gave Laws and Statutes after the example of *Roman* Emperors, written with the advice of his ſageſt Counſellors, but in the *Engliſh* tongue, and obſerv'd long after. Wherein his ſpecial care was to puniſh thoſe who had ſtoln ought from Church or Churchman, thereby ſhewing how gratefully he receiv'd at thir hands the Chriſtian Faith. Which, he no ſooner dead, but his ſon *Eadbald* took the courſe as faſt to extinguiſh; not only falling back to Heatheniſm, but that which Heatheniſm was wont to abhor, marrying his fathers ſecond wife. Then ſoon was perceiv'd what multitudes for fear or countenance of the King had profeſs't Chriſtianity, returning now as eagerly to thir old Religion. Nor ſtaid the Apoſtacy within one Province, but quickly ſpread over to the *Eaſt-Saxons*; occaſion'd there likewiſe, or ſet forward by the death of thir Chriſtian King *Sebert*: whoſe three ſons, of whom two are nam'd *Sexted* and *Seward*, neither in his life time would be brought to baptiſm, and after his deceaſe re-eſtabliſh'd the free exerciſe of Idolatry; nor ſo content, they

Sax. an. 611. *Sax. an.* *Malmſ.* 614. *Camd.* 616. *Sax. an.* *Malmſ.*

they ſet themſelves in deſpight to do ſome op'n profanation againſt the other Sacrament. Coming therfore into the Church, where *Mellitus* the Biſhop was miniſtring, they requir'd him in abuſe and ſcorn to deliver to them unbaptiz'd the conſecrated bread; and him refuſeing, drove diſgracefully out of their dominion. Who croſs'd forthwith into *Kent*, where things were in the ſame plight, and thence into *France*, with *Juſtus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. But Divine vengeance deferr'd not long the puniſhment of men ſo impious; for *Eadbald*, vext with an evil Spirit, fell oft'n into foul fits of diſtraction; and the Sons of *Sebert*, in a fight againſt the *Weſt-Saxons* periſh'd, with their whole Army. But *Eadbald*, within the year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when *Laurence* the Archbiſhop and ſucceſſor of *Auſtin* was preparing to ſhip for *France*, after *Juſtus* and *Mellitus*, the ſtory goes, if it be worth beleeving, that St. *Peter*, in whoſe Church he ſpent the night before in watching and praying, appear'd to him, and to make the Viſion more ſenſible, gave him many ſtripes for offering to deſert his flock; at ſight whereof the King (to whom next morning he ſhew'd the marks of what he had ſuffer'd, by whom and for what cauſe) relenting and in great fear diſſolv'd his inceſtuous marriage, and appli'd himſelf to the Chriſtian Faith more ſincerely then before, with all his people. But the *Londoners* addicted ſtill to Paganiſm, would not be perſwaded to receave again *Mellitus* thir Biſhop, and to compell them was not in his power. Thus much through all the South was troubl'd in Religion, as much were the North parts diſquieted through Ambition. For *Ethelfrid* of *Bernicia*, as was touch't before, having thrown *Edwin* out of *Deira*, and join'd that Kingdome

617.

dome to his own, not content to have bereav'd him of his right, whoſe known vertues and high parts gave cauſe of ſuſpition to his Enemies, ſends Meſſengers to demand him of *Redwald* King of *Eaſt-Angles*; under whoſe protection, after many years wandring obſcurely through all the Iland, he had plac'd his ſafety. *Redwald*, though having promis'd all defence to *Edwin* as to his ſuppliant, yet tempted with continual and large offers of gold, and not contemning the puiſſance of *Ethelfrid*, yeilded at length, either to diſpatch him, or to give him into thir hands: but earneſtly exhorted by his Wife, not to betray the Faith and inviolable Law of Hoſpitality and refuge giv'n, preferrs his firſt promiſe as the more Religious, nor only refuſes to deliver him; but ſince War was thereupon denounc't, determins to be beforehand with the danger; and with a ſudden Army rais'd, ſurpriſes *Ethelfrid*, little dreaming an invaſion, and in a fight near to the Eaſt-ſide of the River *Idle*, on the *Mercian* border, now *Nottingham-ſcire*, ſlaies him, diſſipating eaſily thoſe few Forces which he had got to march out over-haſtily with him; who yet as a teſtimony of his Fortune, not his Valour to be blam'd, ſlew firſt with his own hands, *Reiner* the Kings Son. His two Sons *Oſwald*, and *Oſwi*, by *Acca*, *Edwins* Siſter, eſcap'd into *Scotland*. By this Victory, *Redwald* became ſo far ſuperior to the other *Saxon* Kings, that *Beda* reck'ns him the next after *Ella* and *Ethelbert*; who beſides this Conqueſt of the North, had likewiſe all on the hitherſide *Humber* at his obedience. He had formerly in *Kent* receav'd Baptiſm, but coming home and perſwaded by his Wife, who ſtill it ſeems, was his Chief Counſeller to good or bad alike, relaps'd into his old Religion; yet not willing to forgoe his new, thought it

Malmsb. L. 1. c. 3.

Camden.

Bed. L. 2. c. 15.

not the worſt way, leſt perhaps he might err in either, for more aſſurance to keep them both; and in the ſame Temple erected one Altar to Chriſt, another to his Idols. But *Edwin*, as with more deliberation he undertook, and with more ſincerity retain'd the Chriſtian profeſſion, ſo alſo in power and extent of dominion far exceeded all before him; ſubdueing all, ſaith *Beda*, Engliſh or Britiſh, eev'n to the Iles, then call'd *Mevanian*, *Angleſey*, and *Man*; ſetl'd in his Kingdome by *Redwald*, he ſought in mariage *Edelburga*, whom others call *Tate*, the Daughter of *Ethelbert*. To whoſe Embaſſadors, *Eadbald* her Brother made anſwer, that to wed thir Daughter to a Pagan, was not the Chriſtian Law. *Edwin* repli'd, that to her Religion he would be no hindrance, which with her whole Houſhold ſhe might freely exerciſe. And moreover, that if examin'd it
625. were found the better, he would imbrace it. Theſe ingenuous offers, op'ning ſo fair a way to the advancement of truth, are accepted, and *Paulinus* as a ſpiritual Guardian ſent along with the Virgin. He being to that purpoſe made Biſhop by *Juſtus*, omit-
626. ted no occaſion to plant the Goſpel in thoſe parts, but with ſmall ſucceſs, till the next year, *Cuichelm*, at that time one of the two *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, envious of the greatneſs which he ſaw *Edwin* growing up to, ſent privily *Eumerus* a hir'd Sword-man to aſſaſſin him; who under pretence of doing a meſſage from his Maſter, with a poiſon'd Weapon, ſtabs at *Edwin*, conferring with him in his Houſe, by the River *Derwent* in *Yorkeſhire*, on an Eaſter-day; which *Lilla* one of the Kings Attendants, at the inſtant perceaving, with a loyalty that ſtood not then to deliberate, abandon'd his whole body to the blow; which notwithſtanding made paſſage through to the

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Kings Perſon, with a wound not to be ſlighted. The murderer encompaſs'd now with Swords, and deſperate, fore-revenges his own fall with the Death of another, whom his Poinard reach'd home. *Paulinus* omitting no opportunity to win the King from miſbeleef, obtain'd at length this promiſe from him; that if Chriſt, whom he ſo magnifi'd, would give him to recover of his wound, and victory of his Enemies who had thus aſſaulted him, he would then become Chriſtian, in pledge whereof he gave his young Daughter *Eanfled* to be bred up in Religion; who with 12 others of his Family, on the day of *Pentecoſt* was baptiz'd. And by that time well recover'd of his wound; to puniſh the Authors of ſo foul a fact, he went with an Army againſt the *Weſt-Saxons:* whom having quell'd by War, and of ſuch as had conſpir'd againſt him, put ſome to Death, others pardon'd, he return'd home victorious, and from that time worſhip'd no more his Idols, yet ventur'd not raſhly into Baptiſm, but firſt took care to be inſtructed rightly, what he learnt, examining and ſtill conſidering with himſelf and others, whom he held wiſeſt; though *Boniface* the Pope, by large Letters of exhortation, both to him and his Queen, was not wanting to quicken his beleef. But while he ſtill deferr'd, and his deferring might ſeem now to have paſt the maturity of wiſedome to a faulty lingring, *Paulinus* by Revelation, as was beleev'd, coming to the knowledge of a ſecret, which befell him ſtrangly in the time of his troubles, on a certain day went in boldly to him, and laying his right hand on the head of the King, ask'd him if he rememberd what that ſign meant; the King trembling, and in a maze riſeing up, ſtrait fell at his Feet. Behold, ſaith *Paulinus*, raiſing him from the ground; God hath deliver'd

ver'd you from your Enemies, and giv'n you the Kingdome, as you deſir'd: perform now what long ſince you promis'd him, to receave his Doctrine which I now bring you, and the Faith, which if you accept, ſhall to your temporal felicity, add Eternal. The promiſe claim'd of him by *Paulinus*, how and wherefore made, though ſavouring much of Legend, is thus related. *Redwald*, as we heard before, dazl'd with the gold of *Ethelfrid*, or by his threatning over-aw'd, having promis'd to yeild up *Edwin*, one of his faithfull Companions, of which he had ſome few with him in the Court of *Redwald*, that never ſhrunk from his adverſity, about the firſt howr of night comes in haſt to his Chamber, and calling him forth for better ſecrecy, reveles to him his danger, offers him his aid to make eſcape; but that courſe not approv'd, and ſeeming diſhonourable without more manifeſt cauſe to begin, diſtruſt towards one who had ſo long bin his only refuge, the friend departs. *Edwin* left alone without the Palace Gate, full of ſadneſs and perplext thoughts, diſcerns about the dead of night, a man neither by countnance nor by habit to him known, approaching towards him. Who after ſalutation, aſk'd him why at this howr, when all others were at reſt, he alone ſo ſadly ſat waking on a cold Stone? *Edwin* not a little miſdoubting who he might be, aſk'd him again, what his ſitting within dores, or without, concern'd him to know? To whom he again, think not that who thou art, or why ſitting heer, or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: But what would you promiſe to that man, who ever would befriend you out of all theſe troubles, and perſwade *Redwald* to the like? All that I am able, anſwer'd *Edwin*. And he, what if the ſame man ſhould promiſe to make you greater

greater then any Engliſh King hath bin before you? I ſhould not doubt, quoth *Edwin*, to be anſwerably gratefull. And what if to all this he would inform you, ſaid the other, in a way to happineſs, beyond what any of your Anceſtors hath known? would you hark'n to his Counſel? *Edwin* without ſtopping promis'd he would. And the other laying his right hand on *Edwins* head, when this ſign, ſaith he, ſhall next befall yee, remember this time of night, and this diſcourſe, to perform what thou haſt promis'd, and with theſe words diſappeering, left *Edwin* much reviv'd, but not leſs fill'd with wonder, who this unknown ſhould be. When ſuddenly the friend who had bin gon all this while to liſt'n furder what was like to be decree'd of *Edwin*, comes back and joyfully bids him riſe to his repoſe, for that the Kings mind, though for a while drawn aſide, was now fully reſolv'd not only not to betray him, but to defend him againſt all Enemies, as he had promis'd. This was ſaid to be the cauſe why *Edwin* admoniſh't by the Biſhop of a ſign which had befaln him ſo ſtrangely, and as he thought ſo ſecretly, aroſe to him with that reverence and amazement, as to one ſent from Heav'n, to claim that promiſe of him which he perceav'd well was due to a Divine power, that had aſſiſted him in his troubles. To *Paulinus* therefore he makes anſwer, that the Chriſtian Beleef he himſelf ought by promiſe, and intended to receave; but would conferr firſt with his Cheif Peers and Counſellers, that if they likewiſe could be won, all at once might be baptiz'd. They therfore being aſk'd in Counſel what thir opinion was concerning this new Doctrine, and well perceaving which way the King enclin'd, every one thereafter ſhap'd his reply. The Cheif-Preiſt ſpeaking firſt, diſcover'd

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an old grudge he had againſt his Gods, for advancing others in the Kings Favour above him thir Cheif Preiſt: another hiding his Court-compliance with a grave ſentence, commended the choiſe of certain before uncertain, upon due examination; to like purpoſe anſwer'd all the reſt of his Sages, none op'nly diſſenting from what was likely to be the Kings Creed: wheras the preaching of *Paulinus* could work no ſuch effect upon them, toiling till that time without ſucceſs. Whereupon *Edwin* renouncing Heatheniſm, became Chriſtian: and the Pagan Preiſt, offring himſelf freely to demoliſh the Altars of his former Gods, made ſome amends for his
627. teaching to adore them. With *Edwin*, his two Sons *Oſfrid* and *Eanfrid*, born to him by *Quenburga*, Daughter, as ſaith *Beda*, of *Kearle* King of *Mercia*, in the time of his baniſhment, and with them moſt of the people, both Nobles and Commons, eaſily converted, were baptiz'd; he with his whole Family at *York*, in a Church haſtily built up of Wood, the multitude moſt part in Rivers. *Northumberland* thus chriſt'nd, *Paulinus* croſſing *Humber*, converted alſo the Province of *Lindſey*, and *Blecca* the Governour of *Lincoln*, with his Houſhold and moſt of that City; wherin he built a Church of Stone, curiouſly wrought, but of ſmall continuance; for the Roof in *Bedas* time, uncertain whether by neglect or Enemies, was down; the Walls only ſtanding. Mean while in *Mercia*, *Kearle* a Kinſman of *Wibba*, ſaith *Huntingdon*, not a Son, having long withheld the Kingdome from *Penda Wibba's* Son, left it now at length to the fiftieth year of his Age: with whom
629. *Kinegils* and *Cuichelm*, the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, two
Sax. ann. year after, having by that time it ſeems recover'd ſtrength, ſince the Inrode made upon them by *Edwin*,

win, fought at *Cirenceſter*, then made Truce. But *Edwin* ſeeking every way to propagate the Faith, which with ſo much deliberation he had receav'd, perſuaded *Eorpwald* the Son of *Redwald*, King of *Eaſt-Angles*, to imbrace the ſame beleef; willingly 632.
or in aw, is not known, retaining under *Edwin* the *Sax. an.*
name only of a King. But *Eorpwald* not long ſur-
viv'd his converſion, ſlain in fight by *Richert* a Pa- *Florent.*
gan: wherby the people having lightly follow'd the *Genealog.*
Religion of thir King, as lightly fell back to thir old ſuperſtitions for above 3 years after: *Edwin* in the mean while, to his Faith adding vertue, by the due adminiſtration of juſtice wrought ſuch peace over all his Territories, that from Sea to Sea, man or woman might have travail'd in ſafety. His care alſo was of Fountains by the way ſide, to make them fitteſt for the uſe of Travellers. And not unmindful of regal State, whether in War or Peace, he had a Royal Banner carried before him. But having reign'd with much honour 17 years, he was at length by *Kedwalla*, or *Cadwallon*, King of the *Britans*, who with aid of the *Mercian Penda*, had rebell'd againſt him, ſlain in a Battel with his Son *Oſfrid*, at a place call'd *Hethfeild*, and his whole Army overthrown or diſperſt in the year 633. and the 47*th* of his Age, in 633.
the Eye of man worthy a more peacefull end. His Head brought to *York*, was there buried in the Church by him begun. Sad was this overthrow, both to Church and State of the *Northumbrians*: for *Penda* being a Heathen, and the Britiſh King, though in name a Chriſtian, yet in deeds more bloody then the Pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous cruelty in the ſlaughter of Sex or Age; *Kedwalla* threatning to root out the whole Nation, though then newly Chriſtian. For the *Britans*, and, as *Beda*

ſaith, eev'n to his dayes, accounted *Saxon* Chriſtianity no better then Paganiſm, and with them held as little Communion. From theſe calamities no refuge being left but flight, *Paulinus* taking with him *Ethilburga* the Queen and her Children, aided by *Baſſus*, one of *Edwins* Captains, made eſcape by Sea to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*: who receaving his Siſter with all kindneſs, made *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, where he ended his days. After *Edwin*, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* became divided as before, each rightfull Heir ſeiſing his part; in *Deira Oſric*, the Son of *Elfric*, *Edwins* Uncle, by profeſſion a Chriſtian, and baptiz'd by *Paulinus*; in *Bernicia*, *Eanfrid*, the Son of *Ethelfrid*; who all the time of *Edwin*, with his Brother *Oſwald*, and many of the young Nobility, liv'd in *Scotland* exil'd, and had bin there taught and baptiz'd. No ſooner had they gott'n each a Kingdom, but both turn'd recreant, ſliding back into their old Religion; and both were the ſame year ſlain; *Oſric* by a ſudden eruption of *Kedwalla*, whom he in a ſtrong Town had unadviſedly beſeig'd; *Eanfrid* ſeeking peace, and inconſideratly with a few ſurrendring himſelf. *Kedwalla* now rang'd at will through both thoſe Provinces, uſeing cruelly his
634. Conqueſt; when *Oſwald* the Brother of *Eanfrid* with a ſmall but Chriſtian Army, unexpectedly coming on, defeated and deſtroy'd both him and his huge Forces, which he boaſted to be invincible, by a little River running into *Tine*, neer the antient *Roman* Wall then call'd *Denisburn*, the place afterwards *Heav'n field*, from the Croſs reported miraculous for Cures, which *Oſwald* there erected before the Battail, in tok'n of his Faith againſt the great number of his Enemies. Obtaining the Kingdom, he took care to inſtruct again the people in Chriſtianity.

Send-

Sending therfore to the Scotiſh Elders, *Beda* ſo terms them, among whom he had receav'd Baptiſm, requeſted of them ſom faithfull Teacher, who might again ſettle Religion in his Realm, which the late troubles had impar'd; they as readily hearkning to his requeſt, ſend *Aidan* a Scotch Monk and Biſhop, but of ſingular zeal and meekneſs, with others to aſſiſt him, whom at thir own deſire he ſeated in *Lindisfarne*, as the Epiſcopal Seat, now *Holy Iland*: and being the Son of *Ethelfrid*, by the Siſter of *Edwin*, as right Heir, others failing, eaſily reduc'd both Kingdoms of *Northumberland* as before into one; nor of *Edwins* Dominion loſt any part, but enlarg'd it rather; over all the fowr *Britiſh* Nations, *Angles*, *Britans*, *Picts* and *Scots*, exerciſeing regall Authority. Of his Devotion, Humility, and Almes-deeds, much is ſpok'n; that he diſdain'd not to be the interpreter of *Aidan*, preaching in Scotch or bad Engliſh, to his Nobles and Houſhold Servants; and had the poor continually ſerv'd at his Gate, after the promiſcuous manner of thoſe times: his meaning might be upright, but the manner more antient of privat or of Church contribution, is doubtleſs more Evangelical.

About this time, the *Weſt-Saxons*, antiently call'd *Geviſſi*, by the preaching of *Berinus*, a Biſhop, whom Pope *Honorius* had ſent, were converted to the Faith with *Kinegils* thir King: him *Oſwald* receav'd out of the Font, and his Daughter in mariage. The next year *Cuichelm* was baptiz'd in *Dorcheſter*, but liv'd not to the years end. The *Eaſt-Angles* alſo this year were reclaim'd to the Faith of Chriſt, which for ſom years paſt they had thrown off. But *Sigbert* the Brother of *Eorpwald* now ſucceeded in that Kingdom, prais'd for a moſt Chriſtian and Learned Man: who while his Brother yet reign'd, living in

635. *Sax. an.*

636.

France an exile, for ſome diſpleaſure conceav'd againſt him by *Redwald* his Father, lern'd there the Chriſtian Faith; and reigning ſoon after, in the ſame inſtructed his people, by the preaching of *Felix* a *Burgundian* Biſhop.

640. In the year 640. *Eadbald* deceaſing, left to *Ercombert* his Son by *Emma* the French Kings Daughter, the Kingdom of *Kent*; recorded the firſt of Engliſh Kings, who commanded through his limits the deſtroying of Idols; laudably, if all Idols without exception, and the firſt to have eſtabliſht *Lent* among us, under ſtrict penalty, not worth remembring, but only to inform us, that no *Lent* was obſerv'd heer till his time by compulſion: eſpecially being noted by ſome to have fraudulently uſurp'd upon his Elder Brother *Ermenred*, whoſe right was precedent to the Crown. *Oſwald* having reign'd 8 years, worthy alſo as might ſeem of longer life, fell into the ſame fate with *Edwin*, and from the ſame hand, in a great Battel overcom and ſlain by *Penda*, at a place call'd *Maſerfeild*, now *Oſweſtre*, in *Shropſhire*, miraculous, as ſaith *Beda*, after his Death. His Brother *Oſwi* ſucceeded him; reigning, though in much trouble, 28 years; oppos'd either by *Penda*, or his own Son *Alfred*, or his Brothers Son *Ethilwald*. Next year *Kinegils* the *Weſt-Saxon* dying, left his Son *Kenwalk* in his ſtead, though as yet unconverted. About this time *Sigebert*, King of *Eaſt-Angles*, having lernt in *France*, ere his coming to Reign, the manner of thir Schools, with the aſſiſtance of ſome Teachers out of *Kent*, inſtituted a School heer after the ſame Diſcipline, thought to be the Univerſity of *Cambridge* then firſt founded: and at length weary of his Kingly Office, betook him to a Monaſtical life; commending the care of Government to his Kinſman

Mat. Weſt.

642.

Camden.

Bed. L. 3. c. 14.

643.

Sax. an.

Kinſman *Egric*, who had ſuſtain'd with him part of that burden before. It happen'd ſome years after, that *Penda* made War on the *Eaſt-Angles*: they expecting a ſharp encounter, beſought *Sigebert*, whom they eſteem'd an expert Leader, with his preſence to confirm the Souldiery: and him refuſeing carried by force out of the Monaſtery into the Camp; where acting the Monk rather then the Captain, with a ſingle wand in his hand, he was ſlain with *Egric*, and his whole Army put to flight. *Anna* of the Royal Stock, as next in right, ſucceeded; and hath the praiſe of a vertuous and moſt Chriſtian Prince. But *Kenwalk* the *Weſt-Saxon* having maried the Daughter of *Penda*, and divorc't her, was by him with more appearance of a juſt cauſe vanquiſht in fight, and depriv'd of his Crown: whence retiring to *Anna* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, after three years abode in his Court, he there became Chriſtian, and afterwards regain'd his Kingdom. *Oſwi* in the former years of his Reign, had ſharer with him, *Oſwin* Nephew of *Edwin*, who rul'd in *Deira* 7 years, commended much for his zeal in Religion, and for comlineſs of perſon, with other princely qualities, belov'd of all. Notwithſtanding which, diſſentions growing between them, it came to Armes. *Oſwin* ſeeing himſelf much exceeded in numbers, thought it more prudence, diſmiſſing his Army, to reſerve himſelf for ſome better occaſion. But committing his perſon with one faithfull attendant to the Loyalty of *Hunwald* an Earl, his imagin'd friend, he was by him treacherouſly diſcoverd, and by command of *Oſwi* ſlain. After whom within 12 days, and for greif of him whoſe death he foretold, dy'd Biſhop *Aidan*, famous for his Charity, meekneſs, and labour in the Goſpel. The fact of *Oſwi* was deteſtable to all; which therfore

645. *Sax. an.*

648.

651. *Bede.*

fore to expiate, a Monaſtery was built in the place where it was don, and Prayers there daily offerd up for the Souls of both Kings, the ſlain and the ſlayer. *Kenwalk* by this time reinſtall'd in his Kingdom, kept it long, but with various Fortune; for *Bed. l. 3. c. 7.* *Beda* relates him oft-times afflicted by his Enemies
652. with great loſſes: and in 652. by the Annals, fought a Battel (Civil War *Ethelwerd* calls it) at *Bradanford* by the River *Afene*; againſt whom, and for what cauſe, or who had the Victory, they write not. *Camden* names the place *Bradford* in *Wiltſhire*, by the River *Avon*, and *Cuthred* his neer Kinſman, againſt whom he fought, but cites no Autority; certain it is, that *Kenwalk* fowr years before had giv'n large poſſeſſions to his Nephew *Cuthred*, the more unlikely
653. therefore now to have rebell'd. The next year *Peada*, whom his Father *Penda*, though a Heathen, had for his Princely Vertues made Prince of *Middle-Angles*, belonging to the *Mercians*, was with that people converted to the Faith. For coming to *Oſwi* with requeſt to have in mariage *Alfleda* his Daughter, he was deni'd her but on condition, that he with all his people ſhould receave Chriſtianity. Heering therefore not unwillingly what was preach't to him of Reſurrection and Eternal life, much perſuaded alſo by *Alfrid* the Kings Son, who had his Siſter *Kyniburg* to Wife, he eaſily aſſented, for the truths ſake only as he profeſs'd, whether he obtain'd the Virgin or no, and was baptiz'd with all his followers. Returning, he took with him fowr Preſbyters to teach the people of his Province; who by thir daily preaching won many. Neither did *Penda*, though himſelf no Beleever, prohibit any in his Kingdome to heer or beleeve the Goſpel, but rather hated and deſpis'd thoſe, who profeſſing to beleeve,

ateſted

ateſted not thir Faith by good works; condemning them for miſerable and juſtly to be deſpis'd, who obey not that God in whom they chooſe to beleeve. How well might *Penda* this Heathen riſe up in judgment againſt many pretending Chriſtians, both of his own and theſe daies! yet being a man bred up to War (as no leſs were others then reigning, and oft-times one againſt another, though both Chriſtians) he warr'd on *Anna*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, perhaps without cauſe, for *Anna* was eſteem'd a juſt man, and at length ſlew him. About this time the *Eaſt-Saxons*, who as above hath bin ſaid, had expell'd thir Biſhop *Mellitus*, and renounc'd the Faith, were by the means of *Oſwi* thus reconverted. *Sigebert* ſurnam'd the ſmall, being the Son of *Seward*, without other memory of his Reign, left his Son King of that Province, after him *Sigebert* the Second, who coming oft'n to viſit *Oſwi* his great friend, was by him at ſeveral times fervently diſuaded from Idolatry, and convinc't at length to forſake it, was there baptiz'd; on his return home taking with him *Kedda* a laborious Preacher, afterwards made Biſhop; by whoſe teaching with ſome help of others, the people were again recoverd from misbeleef. But *Sigebert* ſome years after, though ſtanding faſt in Religion, was by the Conſpiracy of two Brethren in place neer about him, wickedly murder'd; who being aſk'd what mov'd them to do a deed ſo hainous, gave no other then this barbarous anſwer; that they were angry with him for being ſo gentle to his Enemies, as to forgive them thir injuries whenever they beſought him. Yet his Death ſeems to have happ'nd not without ſome cauſe by him giv'n of Divine diſpleaſure. For one of thoſe Earls who ſlew him, living in unlawfull wedlock, and therfore excom-

654. *Sax. an.*

excommunicated ſo ſeverely by the Biſhop, that no man might preſume to enter into his Houſe, much leſs to ſit at meat with him, the King not regarding this Church cenſure, went to feaſt with him at his invitation. Whom the Biſhop meeting in his return, though penitent for what he had don, and faln at his feet, touch'd with the rod in his hand, and angerly thus foretold: becauſe thou haſt neglected to abſtain from the Houſe of that Excommunicate, in that Houſe thou ſhalt die; and ſo it fell out, perhaps from that prediction, God bearing witneſs to his Miniſter in the power of Church Diſcipline, ſpiritually executed, not juridically on the contemner therof.

655. This year 655. prov'd fortunate to *Oſwi*, and fatal to *Penda*, for *Oſwi* by the continual inrodes of *Penda*, having long endur'd much devaſtation, to the endangering once by aſſault and fire *Bebbanburg*, his ſtrongeſt City, now *Bamborrow* Caſtle, unable to reſiſt him, with many rich preſents offerd to buy his Peace. Which not accepted by the Pagan, who intended nothing but deſtruction to that King, though more then once in affinity with him, turning guifts into vows, he implores Divine Aſſiſtance, devoting, if he were deliverd from his Enemy, a Child of one year old, his Daughter to be a Nun, and 12 portions of land wheron to build Monaſteries. His vows, as may be thought, found better ſucceſs then his profferd guifts; for heerupon with his Son *Alfrid*, gathering a ſmall power, he encounterd and diſcomfited the *Mercians*, 30 times exceeding his in number, and led on by expert Captains: at a place call'd *Loyden*, now *Leeds* in *Yorkeſhire*. Beſides this *Ethelwald*, the Son of *Oſwald*, who rul'd in *Deira*, took part with the *Mercians*, but in the fight withdrew his Forces, and in a ſafe place expected the event: with which unſeaſonable

Bed. l. 3. c. 16. *Camd.*

Camden.

ſeaſonable retreat, the *Mercians* perhaps terrifi'd and miſdoubting more danger, fled; thir Commanders, with *Penda* himſelf, moſt being ſlain, among whom *Edilhere* the Brother of *Anna*, who rul'd after him the *Eaſt-Angles*, and was the Author of this War; many more flying were drown'd in the River, which *Beda* calls *Winwed*, then ſwoln above her Banks. The Death of *Penda*, who had bin the Death of ſo many good Kings, made generall rejoicing, as the Song witneſs'd. At the River *Winwed*, *Anna* was aveng'd. To *Edelhere* ſucceeded *Ethelwald* his Brother, in the *Eaſt-Angles*; to *Sigebert* in the *Eaſt-Saxons*, *Suidhelm* the Son of *Sexbald*, ſaith *Bede*, the Brother of *Sigebert*, ſaith *Malmsbury*; he was baptiz'd by *Kedda*, then reſiding in the *Eaſt-Angles*, and by *Ethelwald* the King, receav'd out of the Font. But *Oſwi* in the ſtrength of his late Victory, within three years after ſubdu'd all *Mercia*, and of the Pictiſh Nation greateſt part, at which time he gave to *Peada* his Son in Law the Kingdome of *South-Mercia*, divided from the Northern by *Trent*. But *Peada* the Spring following, as was ſaid, by the Treaſon of his Wife the Daughter of *Oſwi*, married by him for a ſpecial Chriſtian, on the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, not protected by the holy time, was ſlain. The *Mercian* Nobles, *Immin*, *Eaba*, and *Eadbert*, throwing off the Government of *Oſwi*, ſet up *Wulfer* the other Son of *Penda* to be thir King, whom till then they had kept hid, and with him adherd to the Chriſtian Faith. *Kenwalk* the *Weſt-Saxon*, now ſettl'd at home, and deſirous to enlarge his Dominion, prepares againſt the *Britans*, joins Battel with them at *Pen* in *Somerſetſhire*, and over coming perſues them to *Pedridan*. Another fight he had with them before, at a place call'd *Witgeornesburg*, barely mention'd by the Monk

Mat Weſt.

Bed. l. 3. c. 22.

658. *Sax. an.*

659. *Sax. an.*

661. of *Malmsbury*. Nor was it long ere he fell at variance
Sax. an. with *Wulfer* the Son of *Penda*, his old Enemy, ſcarce yet warm in his Throne, fought with him at *Poſſentesburg*, on the *Eaſter* Holy-days, and as *Ethelwerd* ſaith, took him Priſner; but the *Saxon* Annals, quite otherwiſe, that *Wulfer* winning the field, waſted the *Weſt-Saxon* Country as far as *Eskeſdun*; nor ſtaying there, took and waſted the Ile of *Wight*, but cauſing the Inhabitants to be baptiz'd, till then unbeleevers, gave the Iland to *Ethelwald* King of *South-Saxons*, whom he had receav'd out of the Font. The year
664. 664. a Synod of Scotiſh and Engliſh Biſhops, in the
Bed. preſence of *Oſwi* and *Alfred* his Son, was held at a Monaſtery in thoſe parts, to debate on what Day *Eaſter* ſhould be kept; a controverſie which long before had diſturb'd the Greek and Latin Churches: wherin the Scots not agreeing with the way of *Rome*, nor yeilding to the diſputants on that ſide, to whom the King moſt enclin'd, ſuch as were Biſhops heer, reſign'd, and return'd home with thir Diſciples. Another clerical queſtion was there alſo much controverted, not ſo ſuperſtitious in my opinion as ridiculous, about the right ſhaving of crowns. The ſame year was ſeen an Eclips of the Sun in *May*, followed by a ſore peſtilence beginning in the South, but ſpreading to the North, and over all *Ireland* with
Malmſ. great mortality. In which time the *Eaſt-Saxons* after *Swithelms* Deceaſe, being govern'd by *Siger* the Son of *Sigebert* the ſmall, and *Sebbi* of *Seward*, though both ſubject to the *Mercians*. *Siger* and his people unſtedie of Faith, ſuppoſing that this Plague was come upon them for renouncing thir old Religion, fell off the ſecond time to Infidelity. Which the *Mercian* King *Wulfer* underſtanding, ſent *Jarumannus* a Faithfull Biſhop, who with other his fellow

low Labourers, by ſound Doctrin and gentle dealing, ſoon recur'd them of thir ſecond relaps. In *Kent*, *Ercombert* expiring, was ſucceeded by his Son *Ecbert*. In whoſe fowrth year, by means of *Theodore*, a learned Greekiſh Monk of *Tarſus*, whom Pope *Vitalian* had ordain'd Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Greek and Latin Tongue, with other liberal Arts, Arithmetic, Muſic, Aſtronomie, and the like; began firſt to flouriſh among the *Saxons*; as did alſo the whole Land, under potent and religious Kings, more then ever before, as *Bede* affirms, till his own days. 668. *Sax. ann.*

Two years after, in *Northumberland* dy'd *Oſwi*, much addicted to Romiſh Rites, and reſolv'd, had his Diſeaſe releas'd him, to have ended his days at *Rome*: 670. *Sax. an.*

Ecfrid the eldeſt of his Sons begot in Wedlock, ſucceeded him. After other three years, *Ecbert* in *Kent* deceaſing, left nothing memorable behind him, but the general ſuſpition to have ſlain or conniv'd at the ſlaughter of his Uncles two Sons, *Elbert*, and *Egelbright*. In recompence wherof, he gave to the Mother of them part of *Tanet*, wherein to build an Abbey; the Kingdom fell to his Brother *Lothair*. And much about this time, by beſt account it ſhould be, however plac'd in *Beda*, that *Ecfrid* of *Northumberland*, having War with the *Mercian Wulfer*, won from him *Lindſey*, and the Country thereabout. *Sebbi* having reign'd over the *Eaſt-Saxons* 30 years, not long before his Death, though long before deſireing, took on him the Habit of a Monk; and drew his Wife at length, though unwilling, to the ſame Devotion. *Kenwalk* alſo dying, left the Government to *Sexburga* his Wife, who out-liv'd him in it but one year, driv'n out, ſaith *Mat. Weſt.* by the Nobles, diſdaining Female Government. After whom ſeveral petty Kings, as *Eeda* calls them, for ten 673. *Sax. an.* *Malmſ.* *Bed. l. 4. c. 12.* 674.

Bed.l.4.c.12. years ſpace divided the *Weſt-Saxons*; others name
Sax. an. two, *Eſcwin* the Nephew of *Kinigils*, and *Kentwin*
Malmſ. the Son, not petty by thir deeds: for *Eſcwin* fought a
676. Battell with *Wulfer*, at *Bedanhafde*, and about year a af-
both deceas'd; but *Wulfer* not without a ſtain left
behind him, of ſelling the Biſhoprick of *London*, to
Wini the firſt Simoniſt we read of in this ſtory; *Ken-*
walk had before expell'd him from his Chair at *Win-*
cheſter; *Ethelred* the Brother of *Wulfer* obtaining
next the Kingdom of *Mercia*, not only recoverd
Lindſey, and what beſides in thoſe parts *Wulfer* had
loſt to *Ecfrid* ſome years before, but found himſelf
ſtrong enough to extend his Armes another way, as
far as *Kent*, waſting that Country without reſpect to
Church or Monaſtery, much alſo endamaging the
Bed.l.4.c.12. City of *Rocheſter*: Notwithſtanding what reſiſtance
678. *Lothair* could make againſt him. In *Auguſt* 678. was
ſeen a Morning Comet for 3 Months following, in
manner of a fiery Pillar. And the *South-Saxons*
about this time were converted to the Chriſtian
Faith, upon this occaſion. *Wilfrid* Biſhop of the *Nor-*
thumbrians entring into contention with *Ecfrid* the
King, was by him depriv'd of his Biſhoprick, and
679. long wandring up and down as far as *Rome*, return'd
at length into *England*, but not dareing to approach
the North, whence he was baniſh'd, bethought him
where he might to beſt purpoſe elſewhere exerciſe his
Miniſtery. The South of all other *Saxons* remain'd
yet Heathen; but *Edilwalk* thir King not long be-
fore had bin baptiz'd in *Mercia*, perſuaded by *Wulfer*,
and by him, as hath bin ſaid, receav'd out of the Font.
Bed.l.4.c.13. For which relations ſake he had the Ile of *Wight*, and
Camd. a Province of the *Meannari* adjoining, giv'n him on
the Continent about *Meanesborow* in *Hantſhir*, which
Wulfer had a little before gott'n from *Kenwalk*. The-
ther

ther *Wilfrid* takes his journey, and with the help of other Spiritual Labourers about him, in ſhort time planted there the Goſpel. It had not rain'd, as is ſaid, of three years before in that Country, whence many of the people daily periſh'd by Famin; till on the firſt day of thir public Baptiſm, ſoft and plentifull ſhowers deſcending, reſtor'd all abundance to the Summer following. Two years after this, *Kentwin* the other *Weſt-Saxon* King above-nam'd, chac'd the *Welch-Britans*, as is Chronicl'd without circumſtance, to the very Sea ſhoar. But in the year, by *Beda*'s reck'ning, 683, *Kedwalla* a *Weſt-Saxon* of the Royal Line (whom the *Welch* will have to be *Cadwallader*, laſt King of the *Britans*) thrown out by faction, return'd from baniſhment, and invaded both *Kentwin*, if then living, or whoever elſe had divided the ſucceſſion of *Kenwalk*, ſlaying in fight *Edelwalk* the *South-Saxon*, who oppos'd him in their aid; but ſoon after was repuls'd by two of his Captains, *Bertune*, and *Andune*, who for a while held the province in thir power. But *Kedwalla* gathering new force, with the ſlaughter of *Bertune*, and alſo of *Edric* the ſucceſſor of *Edelwalk*, won the Kingdome. But reduc'd the people to heavy thraldome. Then addreſſing to Conquer the Ile of *Wight*, till that time *Pagan*, ſaith *Beda* (others otherwiſe, as above hath bin related) made a vow, though himſelf yet unbaptiz'd, to devote the fowrth part of that Iland, and the ſpoils therof, to holy uſes. Conqueſt obtain'd, paying his vow as then was the beleef, he gave his fowrth to Biſhop *Wilfrid*, by chance there preſent; and he to *Bertwin* a Prieſt, his Siſters Son, with commiſſion to baptiſe all the vanquiſht, who meant to ſave thir lives. But the two young Sons of *Arwald*, King of that Iland, met with much more hoſtility; for

681. *Sax. an.*

683. *Sax. an.*

Bed. l. 4. c. 15

Malmſ. 684.

Bed. l. 4. c. 16

for they at the Enemies approach flying out of the Ile, and betray'd where they were hid not far from thence, were led to *Kedwalla*, who lay then under Cure of ſome wounds receav'd, and by his appointment, after inſtruction and Baptiſm firſt giv'n them, harſhly put to death, which the youths are ſaid above thir Age to have Chriſtianly ſufferd. In *Kent*, *Lothair* dy'd this year of his wounds receav'd in fight againſt the *South-Saxons*, led on by *Edric*, who deſcending from *Ermenred*, it ſeems challeng'd the Crown; and wore it, though not commendably, one year and a half: but coming to a violent Death, left the land expos'd a prey either to home-bred uſurpers, or neighbouring invaders. Among whom *Kedwalla*, taking advantage from thir civil diſtempers, and marching eaſily through the *South-Saxons*, whom he had ſubdu'd, ſorely harraſs'd the Country, untouch'd of a long time by any hoſtile incurſion. But the *Kentiſh* men, all parties uniteing againſt a common Enemy, with joint power ſo oppos'd him, that he was conſtrain'd to retire back; his Brother *Mollo* in the flight with 12 men of his Company, ſeeking ſhelter in a Houſe, was beſet and therin burnt by the perſuers: *Kedwalla* much troubl'd at ſo great a loſs, recalling and ſoon rallying his diſorderd Forces, return'd fiercely upon the chaſeing Enemy; nor could be got out of the Province, till both by fire and Sword, he had aveng'd the Death of his Brother. At length *Victred* the Son of *Ecbert*, attaining the Kingdome, both ſettl'd at home all things in peace, and ſecur'd his Borders from all outward Hoſtility. While thus *Kedwalla* diſquieted both *Weſt* and *Eaſt*, after his winning the Crown, *Ecfrid* the *Northumbrian*, and *Ethelred* the *Mercian*, fought a ſore Battel by the River *Trent*; wherin *Elfwin* Brother to *Ecfrid*,

685. *Malmſ.*

Sax. an. *Malmſ.*

686.

687.

Bed.

frid, a youth of 18 years, much belov'd, was ſlain; and the accident likely to occaſion much more ſhedding of blood, peace was happily made by the grave exhortation of Archbiſhop *Theodore*, a pecuniary fine only paid to *Ecfrid*, as ſome ſatisfaction for the loſs of his Brothers life. Another adverſity befell *Ecfrid* in his Family, by means of *Ethildrith* his Wife, King *Anna*'s Daughter, who having tak'n him for hir Huſband, and profeſſing to love him above all other men, perſiſted twelve years in the obſtinat refuſal of his bed, therby thinking to live the purer life. So perverſly then was chaſtity inſtructed againſt the Apoſtles rule. At length obtaining of him with much importunity her departure, ſhe veild her ſelf a Nun, then made Abbeſs of *Ely*, dy'd 7 years after the peſtilence; and might with better warrant have kept faithfully her undertak'n Wedlock, though now canoniz'd St. *Audrey* of *Ely*. In the mean while *Ecfrid* had ſent *Bertus* with a power to ſubdue *Ireland*, a harmleſs Nation, ſaith *Beda*, and ever friendly to the Engliſh; in both which they ſeem to have left a poſterity much unlike them at this day: miſerably waſted, without regard had to places hallow'd or profane, they betook them partly to thir Weapons, partly to implore divine aid; and, as was thought, obtain'd it in thir full avengement upon *Ecfrid*. For he the next year, againſt the mind and perſuaſion of his ſageſt friends, and eſpecially of *Cudbert* a famous Biſhop of that Age, marching unadviſedly againſt the *Picts*, who long before had bin ſubject to *Northumberland*, was by them feigning flight, drawn unawares into narrow ſtreights overtopt with Hills, and cut off with moſt of his Army. From which time, ſaith *Bede*, military valour began among the *Saxons* to decay, nor only the *Picts* till then

then peaceable, but ſome part of the *Britans* alſo recover'd by Armes thir liberty for many years after. Yet *Aldfrid* elder, but baſe Brother to *Ecfrid*, a man ſaid to be learned in the Scriptures, recall'd from *Ireland*, to which place in his Brothers Reign he had retir'd, and now ſucceeding, upheld with much honour, though in narrower bounds, the reſidue of his Kingdome. *Kedwalla* having now with great diſturbance of his Neighbours reign'd over the *Weſt-Saxons* two years, beſides what time he ſpent in gaining it, wearied perhaps with his own turbulence, went to *Rome*, deſirous there to receave Baptiſm, which till then his worldly affairs had deferr'd, and accordingly, on *Eaſter* Day, 689. he was baptiz'd by *Sergius* the Pope, and his name chang'd to *Peter*. All which notwithſtanding, ſurpris'd with a Diſeaſe, he outliv'd not the Ceremony ſo far ſought, much above the ſpace of 5 weeks, in the Thirtieth year of his Age, and in the Church of St. *Peter* was there buried, with a large Epitaph upon his Tomb. Him ſucceeded *Ina* of the Royal Family, and from the time of his coming in, for many years oppreſs'd the Land with like greevances, as *Kedwalla* had done before him, inſomuch that in thoſe times there was no Biſhop among them. His firſt expedition was into *Kent*, to demand ſatisfaction for the burning of *Mollo*: *Viſtred* loth to hazard all for the raſh act of a few, deliver'd up 30 of thoſe that could be found acceſſory, or as others ſay, pacifi'd *Ina* with a great ſum of money. Mean while, at the incitement of *Ecbert*, a devout Monk, *Wilbrod* a Prieſt eminent for learning, paſt over Sea, having 12 others in Company, with intent to preach the Goſpel in *Germany*. And coming to *Pepin* Cheif Regent of the *Franks*, who a little before had conquer'd the hither *Friſia*, by his countnance

689.

Malmſ. Sax. an. Ethelwerd.

694.

countnance and protection, promiſe alſo of many benefits to them who ſhould beleeve, they found the work of converſion much the eaſier, and *Wilbrod* the firſt Biſhoprick in that Nation. But two Prieſts, each of them *Hewald* by name, and for diſtinction ſurnam'd from the colour of thir Hair, the black and the white, by his example, piouſly affected to the Souls of thir Country-men the old *Saxons*, at thir coming thether to convert them met with much worſe entertainment. For in the Houſe of a Farmer who had promis'd to convey them, as they deſir'd, to the Governour of that Country, diſcoverd by thir daily Ceremonies to be Chriſtian Prieſts, and the cauſe of thir coming ſuſpected, they were by him and his Heathen Neighbours cruelly butcherd; yet not unaveng'd, for the Governour enrag'd at ſuch violence offerd to his Strangers, ſending Armed Men, ſlew all thoſe Inhabitants, and burnt thir Village. After three years in *Mercia*, *Oſtrid* the Queen, Wife to *Ethelred*, was kill'd by her own Nobles, as *Beda*'s Epitomy records; *Florence* calls them *Southimbrians*, negligently omitting the cauſe of ſo ſtrange a fact. And the year following, *Bertred* a *Northumbrian* General was ſlain by the *Picts*. *Ethelred* 7 years after the violent Death of his Queen, put on the Monk, and reſign'd his Kingdome to *Kenred* the Son of *Wulfer* his Brother. The next year, *Aldfrid* in *Northumberland* dy'd, leaving *Ofred* a Child of 8 years to ſucceed him. Fowr years after which, *Kenred* having a while with praiſe govern'd the *Mercian* Kingdome, went to *Rome* in the time of Pope *Conſtantine*, and ſhorn a Monk ſpent there the reſidue of his daies. *Kelred* ſucceeded him, the Son of *Ethelred*, who had reign'd the next before. With *Kenred* went *Offa* the Son of *Siger*, King of *Eaſt-*

697. 698. 704. 705. 709.

Saxons, and betook him to the ſame habit, leaving his Wife and Native Country; a comely Perſon in the prime of his youth, much deſir'd of the people; and ſuch his vertue by report, as might have otherwiſe bin worthy to have reign'd. 710. *Ina* the *Weſt-Saxon* one year after fought a Battell, at firſt doubtfull, at laſt ſucceſsfull, againſt *Gerent* King of *Wales*. *Sax. an.* *Huntingd.* The next year *Bertfrid*, another *Northumbrian* Captain, fought with the *Picts*, and ſlaughterd them, ſaith *Huntingdon*, to the full avengment of *Ecfrids* Death. 711. *Bed. Epit.* The fowrth year after, *Ina* had another doubtfull and cruell Battel at *Wodnesburg* in *Wiltſhire*, with *Kelred* the *Mercian*, who dy'd the year following a lamentable Death: for as he ſat one day feaſting with his Nobles, ſuddenly poſſeſs'd with an evill Spirit, he expir'd in deſpair, as *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Ments*, an Engliſh man, who taxes him for a defiler of Nuns, writes by way of caution to *Ethelbald*, his next of Kin, who ſucceeded him. *Oſred* alſo the young *Northumbrian* King, ſlain by his Kindred in the 11. of his Reign, for his vitious life and inceſt committed with Nuns; was by *Kenred* ſucceeded and aveng'd, he reigning two years left *Oſric* in his room. 715. *Sax. an.* 716. *Sax. an.* *Huntingd.* In whoſe 7*th* year, if *Beda* calculate right, *Vitred* King of *Kent* deceas'd, having reign'd 34 years, and ſome part of them with *Suebhard*, as *Beda* teſtifies, he left behind him three Sons, *Ethelbert*, *Eadbert*, and *Alric* his Heirs. 718. *L.* 5. *c.* 9. Three years after which, appear'd two Comets about the Sun, terrible to behold, the one before him in the Morning, the other after him in the Evening, for the ſpace of two weeks in *January*, bending thir blaze toward the North, at which time the Saracens furiouſly invaded *France*, but were expell'd ſoon after with great overthrow. The ſame year in *Northumberland*, 725. 728.

land, *Ofric* dying or ſlain, adopted *Kelwulf* the Brother of *Kenred* his Succeſſor, to whom *Beda* dedicates his ſtory; but writes this only of him, that the beginning, and the proceſs of his Reign met with many adverſe commotions, wherof the event was then doubtfully expected. Mean while *Ina* 7 years before, having ſlain *Kenwulf*, to whom *Florent* gives the addition of *Clito*, giv'n uſually to none but of the blood Royal, and the 4*th*. year after overthrown and ſlain *Albright* another *Clito*, driv'n from *Taunton* to the *South-Saxons* for aid, vanquiſh't alſo the *Eaſt-Angles* in more then one Battel, as *Malmsbury* writes, but not the year, whether to expiate ſo much blood, or infected with the contagious humour of thoſe times, *Malmsbury* ſaith, at the perſuaſion of *Ethelburga* his Wife, went to *Rome*, and there ended his dayes; yet this praiſe left behind him, to have made good Laws, the firſt of *Saxon* that remain extant to this day, and to his Kinſman *Edelard*, bequeath'd the Crown; No leſs then the whole Monarchy of *England* and *Wales*. For *Ina*, if we beleeve a digreſſion in the Laws of *Edward* Confeſſor, was the firſt King Crown'd of Engliſh and Britiſh, ſince the *Saxons* entrance; of the Britiſh by means of his ſecond Wife, ſome way related to *Cadwallader* laſt King of *Wales*, which I had not noted being unlikely, but for the place where I found it. After *Ina*, by a ſurer Author, *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia* commanded all the Provinces on this ſide *Humber*, with thir Kings: the *Picts* were in league with the Engliſh, the *Scots* peaceable within thir bounds, and the *Britans* part were in thir own Goverment, part ſubject to the Engliſh. In which peacefull ſtate of the land, many in *Northumberland*, both Nobles and Commons, laying aſide the exerciſe of Armes, betook

Bed. l. 5. c. 24.

Beda.

731.

took them to the Cloiſter: and not content ſo to do at home, many in the days of *Ina*, Clerks and Laics, Men and Women, haſting to *Rome* in Herds, thought themſelves no where ſure of Eternal Life, till they were Cloiſterd there. Thus repreſenting the ſtate of things in this Iland, *Beda* ſurceas'd to write. Out of whom cheifly hath bin gatherd, ſince the *Saxons* arrival, ſuch as hath bin deliverd, a ſcatterd ſtory pickt out heer and there, with ſome trouble and tedious work from among his many Legends of Viſions and Miracles; toward the latter end ſo bare of civill matters, as what can be thence collected may ſeem a Calendar rather then a Hiſtory, tak'n up for the moſt part with ſucceſſion of Kings, and computation of years, yet thoſe hard to be reconcil'd with the *Saxon Annals*. Thir actions we read of, were moſt commonly Wars, but for what cauſe wag'd, or by what Councells carried on, no care was had to let us know: wherby thir ſtrength and violence we underſtand, of thir wiſedom, reaſon, or juſtice, little or nothing, the reſt ſuperſtition and monaſtical affectation; Kings one after another leaving thir Kingly Charge, to run thir heads fondly into a Monks Cowle: which leaves us uncertain, whether *Beda* was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence to the *Daniſh* Invaſion it will be worſe with us, deſtitute of *Beda*. Left only to obſcure and blockiſh Chronicles; whom *Malmsbury*, and *Huntingdon*, (for neither they then we had better Authors of thoſe times) ambitious to adorn the Hiſtory, make no ſcruple oft-times, I doubt to interline with conjectures and ſurmiſes of thir own: them rather then imitate, I ſhall chooſe to repreſent the truth naked, though as lean as a plain Journal. Yet *William* of *Malmsbury* muſt be acknowledg'd,

knowledg'd, both for ſtile and judgment, to be far the beſt Writer of them all: but what labour is to be endur'd, turning over Volumes of Rubbiſh in the reſt, *Florence* of *Worſter*, *Huntingdon*, *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Hoveden*, *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter*, and many others of obſcurer note, with all thir monachiſms, is a penance to think. Yet theſe are our only Regiſters, tranſcribers one after another for the moſt part, and ſomtimes worthy enough for the things they regiſter. This travail rather then not know at once what may be known of our antient ſtory, ſifted from Fables and impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to ſave others, if they pleaſe the like unpleaſing labour; except thoſe who take pleaſure to be all thir life time, rakeing in the Foundations of old Abbies and Cathedrals; but to my taſk now as it befalls. In the year 733. on the 18*th*. Kalends of *September*, was an Eclipſe of the Sun about the third howr of day, obſcureing almoſt his whole Orb as with a black ſheild. *Ethelbald* of *Mercia*, beſeig'd and took the Caſtle or Town of *Somerton*: and two years after, *Beda* our Hiſtorian dy'd, ſome ſay the year before. *Kelwulf* in *Northumberland* three years after became Monk in *Lindisfarne*, yet none of the ſevereſt, for he brought thoſe Monks from milk and water, to Wine and Ale; in which doctrin no doubt but they were ſoon docil, and well might, for *Kelwulf* brought with him good proviſion, great treaſure and revenues of land, recited by *Simeon*, yet all under pretenſe of following (I uſe the Authors words) poor *Chriſt*, by voluntary poverty: no marvel then if ſuch applauſe were giv'n by Monkiſh Writers to Kings turning Monks, and much cunning perhaps us'd to allure them. To *Eadbert* his Uncle, he left the Kingdom, whoſe brother *Ecbert*, Arch-

733. *Sax. an.* *Ethelwerd.*

735.

738. *Malmſ.*

740. Archbiſhop of *York* built a Library there. But two years after, while *Eadbert* was buſied in War againſt the *Picts*, *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, by foul fraud, aſſaulted part of *Northumberland* in his abſence, as the ſupplement of *Beda*'s Epitomy records. In the *Weſt-Saxons*, *Edelard* who ſucceeded *Ina*, having bin much moleſted in the beginning of his Reign, with the Rebellion of *Oſwald* his Kinſman, who contended with him for the right of ſucceſſion, overcoming at laſt thoſe troubles, dy'd in Peace 741, leaving *Cuthred* one of the ſame linage to ſucceed him: who at firſt had much War with *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, and various ſucceſs, but joyning with him in League two years after, made War on the Welch: *Huntingdon* doubts not to give them a great Victory. And *Simeon* reports, another Battel fought between *Britans* and *Picts* the year enſueing. Now was the Kingdome of *Eaſt-Saxons* drawing to a Period, for *Sigeard* and *Senfred* the Sons of *Sebbi* having reign'd a while, and after them young *Offa*, who ſoon quitted his Kingdome to go to *Rome* with *Kenred*, as hath been ſaid, the Goverment was conferr'd on *Selred* Son of *Sigebert* the good, who having rul'd 38 years, came to a violent death; how or wherefore, is not ſet down. After whom *Swithred* was the laſt King, driv'n out by *Ecbert* the *Weſt-Saxon*: but *London*, with the Countries adjacent, obey'd the *Mercians* till they alſo were diſſolv'd. *Cuthred* had now reign'd about nine years, when *Kuiric* his Son a valiant young Prince, was in a military tumult ſlain by his own Souldiers. The ſame year *Eadbert* dying in *Kent*, his Brother *Edilbert* reign'd in his ſtead. But after two years, the other *Eadbert* in *Northumberland*, whoſe War with the *Picts* hath bin above-mention'd, made now ſuch Progreſs there,

741. *Malmſ.*
Sax. an.
743. *Sim. Dun.*
744. *Hoved.*
Malmſ.
Sax. an.
746.
748. *Sax. an.*
Huntingd.
750.

there, as to ſubdue *Kyle*, ſo ſaith the Auctarie of *Bede*, and other Countries thereabout, to his dominion; While *Cuthred* the *Weſt-Saxon* had a fight with *Ethelhun*, one of his Nobles, a ſtout Warrier, envi'd by him in ſome matter of the Common-wealth, as far as by the Latin of *Ethelwerd* can be underſtood (others interpret it Sedition) and with much ado overcoming, took *Ethelhun* for his valour into favour, by whom faithfully ſerv'd in the twelf or thirteenth of his Reign, he encounter'd in a ſet Battell with *Ethelbald* the Mercian at *Beorford*, now *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*; one year after againſt the Welch, which was the laſt but one of his life. *Huntingdon*, as his manner is to comment upon the annal Text, makes a terrible deſcription of that fight between *Cuthred* and *Ethelbald*, and the Proweſs of *Ethelhun*, at *Beorford*, but ſo affectedly, and therfore ſuſpiciouſly, that I hold it not worth reherſal; and both in that and the latter conflict, gives Victory to *Cuthred*; after whom *Sigebert*, uncertain by what right, his Kinſman, ſaith *Florent*, ſtep'd into the Throne, whom hated for his cruelty and other evil doings, *Kinwulf* joining with moſt of the Nobility, diſpoſſeſs'd of all but *Hamſhir*, that Province he loſt alſo within a year, together with the love of all thoſe who till then remain'd his adherents, by ſlaying *Cumbran*, one of his Cheif Captains, who for a long time had faithfully ſerv'd, and now diſuaded him from incenſing the people by ſuch Tyrannical practices. Thence flying for ſafety into *Andreds* Wood, forſak'n of all, he was at length ſlain by the Swineheard of *Cumbran* in revenge of his Maiſter, and *Kinwulf* who had undoubted right to the Crown, joyfully ſaluted King. The next year *Eadbert* the *Northumbrian* joining forces with *Unuſt* King of the *Picts*,

Huntingd. 752. *Camden.* 753. *Sax. an.* 754. *Malmſ.* 755. *Huntingd.* *Huntingd.* 756.

Camden. *Picts*, as *Simeon* writes, beſeig'd and took by ſurrender the City *Alcluith*, now *Dunbritton* in *Lennox*, from the *Britans* of *Cumberland*; and ten days after, the whole Army periſhd aboat *Niwanbirig*, but to
Camd. tell us how, he forgetts. In *Mercia*, *Ethelbald* was
757. ſlain, at a place call'd *Secandune*, now *Seckinton* in
Sax. an. *Warwickſhire*, the year following, in a bloody fight
Epit. Bed. againſt *Cuthred*, as *Huntingdon* ſurmiſes, but *Cuthred*
Sim. Dun. was dead two years before; others write him murder'd in the night by his own Guard, and the Treaſon, as ſome ſay, of *Beornred*, who ſucceeded him; but ere many Months, was defeated and ſlain by *Offa*. Yet *Ethelbald* ſeems not without cauſe, after a long and proſperous Reign, to have fall'n by a violent Death; not ſhameing on the vain confidence of his many Alms, to commit uncleaneſs with conſecrated Nuns, beſides Laic Adulteries, as the Arch-Biſhop of *Ments* in a letter taxes him and his Predeceſſor, and that by his example moſt of his Peers did the like; which adulterous doings he foretold him were likely to produce a ſlothfull off-ſpring, good for nothing but to be the ruin of that Kingdome, as
758. it fell out not long after. The next year *Oſmund*, according to *Florence*, ruleing the *South-Saxons*, and *Swithred* the *Eaſt*, *Eadbert* in *Northumberland*, following the ſteps of his Predeceſſor, got him into a
Sim. Dun. Monks Hood; the more to be wonder'd, that ha-
Eccles. L. 2. ving reign'd worthily 21 years, with the love and high eſtimation of all, both at home and abroad, able ſtill to govern, and much entreated by the Kings his Neighbours, not to lay down his charge; with offer on that condition to yeild up to him part of thir own Dominion, he could not be mov'd from his reſolution, but relinquiſh'd his Royal Office to *Oſwulf*
759 his Son; who at the years end, though without juſt cauſe,

cauſe, was ſlain by his own Servants. And the year after dy'd *Ethelbert*, Son of *Victred*, the ſecond of that name in *Kent*. After *Oſwulf*, *Ethelwald*, otherwiſe call'd *Mollo*, was ſet up King; who in his third year had a great Battel at *Eldune*, by *Melros*, ſlew *Oſwin* a great Lord, rebelling, and gain'd the Victory. But the third year after, fell by the treachery of *Alured*, who aſſum'd his place. The fowrth year after which, *Cataracta* an antient and fair City in *Yorkeſhire*, was burnt by *Arnred* a certain Tyrant, who the ſame year came to like end. And after five years more, *Alured* the King depos'd and forſak'n of all his people, fled with a few, firſt to *Bebba*, a ſtrong City of thoſe parts, thence to *Kinot* King of the *Picts*. *Ethelred* the Son of *Mollo*, was crown'd in his ſtead. Mean while *Offa* the *Mercian*, growing powerfull, had ſubdu'd a Neighbouring people by *Simeon*, call'd *Heſtings*; and fought ſucceſsfully this year with *Alric* King of *Kent*, at a place call'd *Occanford*: the Annals alſo ſpeak of wondrous Serpents then ſeen in *Suſſex*. Nor had *Kinwulf* the *Weſt-Saxon* giv'n ſmall proof of his valour in ſeveral Battels againſt the Welch heretofore; but this year 775. meeting with *Offa*, at a place call'd *Beſington*, was put to the worſe, and *Offa* won the Town for which they contended. In *Northumberland*, *Ethelred* having caus'd three of his Nobles, *Aldwulf*, *Kinwulf*, and *Ecca*, treacherouſly to be ſlain by two other Peers, was himſelf the next year driv'n into baniſhment, *Elfwald* the Son of *Oſwulf* ſucceeding in his place, yet not without civil broils; for in his ſecond year *Osbald* and *Ethelheard*, two Noblemen, raiſing Forces againſt him, routed *Bearne* his General, and perſueing, burnt him at a place call'd *Seletune*. I am ſenſible how wearíſom it may likely be to

762. *Sim. Dun. Mat Weſt.*
765. *Sim. Dun.*
769.
774. *Sim. Dun.*
775. *Sax. an.*
778. *Sim. Dun.*
780. *Sim. Dun.*

read of ſo many bare and reaſonleſs Actions, ſo many names of Kings one after another, acting little more then mute perſons in a Scene: what would it be to have inſerted the long Bead-roll of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Abbeſſes, and thir doeings, neither to Religion profitable, nor to morality, ſwelling my Authors each to a voluminous body, by me ſtudiouſly omitted; and left as their propriety, who have a mind to write the Eccleſiaſtical matters of thoſe Ages; neither do I care to wrincle the ſmoothneſs of Hiſtory with rugged names of places unknown, better harp'd at in *Camden*, and other Chorographers. Six years therfore paſs'd over in ſilence, as wholely of ſuch Argument, bring us to relate next the unfortunate end of *Kinwulf* the *Weſt-Saxon*; who having laudably reign'd about 31 years, yet ſuſpecting that *Kineard* Brother of *Sigebert* the former King, intended to uſurp the Crown after his Deceaſe, or revenge his Brothers expulſion, had commanded him into baniſhment; but he lurking heer and there on the borders with a ſmall Company, having had intelligence that *Kenwulf* was in the Country thereabout, at *Merantun*, or *Merton* in *Surrey*, at the Houſe of a Woeman whom he lov'd, went by night and beſet the place. *Kenwulf* over-confident either of his Royal preſence, or perſonal valour, iſſuing forth with the few about him, runs feirſly at *Kineard*, and wounds him ſore, but by his followers hem'd in, is kill'd among them. The report of ſo great an accident ſoon running to a place not far off, where many more attendants awaited the Kings return, *Oſric* and *Wivert*, two Earles haſted with a great number to the Houſe, where *Kineard* and his fellows yet remain'd. He ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded, with fair words and promiſe

786. *Ethelwerd. Malmſ.*

Sax. ann.

Camd.

miſe of great guifts, attempted to appeaſe them; but thoſe rejected with diſdain, fights it out to the laſt, and is ſlain with all but one or two of his retinue, which were nigh a hunderd. *Kinwulf* was ſucceeded by *Birthric*, being both deſcended of *Kerdic* the the Founder of that Kingdome. Not better was 788.
the end of *Elfwald* in *Northumberland*, two years *Sim. Dun.*
after ſlain miſerably by the conſpiracy of *Siggan*, *Malmſ.*
one of his Nobles, others ſay of the whole people at *Scilceſter* by the Roman Wall; yet undeſervedly, as his Sepulchre at *Haguſtald*, now *Hexham* upon *Camd.*
Tine, and ſome miracles there ſaid to be done, are alleg'd to witneſs; and *Siggan* 5 years after laid violent hands on himſelf. *Oſred* Son of *Alcred* ad- *Malmſ.*
vanc't into the room of *Elfwald*, and within one year driv'n out, left his ſeat vacant to *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, who after ten years of baniſhment (impris'nment, ſaith *Alcuin*) had the Scepter put again *Sim. Dun.*
into his hand. The third year of *Birthric* King of 789.
Weſt-Saxons, gave beginning from abroad to a new and fatal revolution of calamity on this Land. For three Daniſh Ships, the firſt that had bin ſeen heer of that Nation arriving in the Weſt, to viſit theſe, as was ſuppos'd, Foren Merchants, the Kings gatherer of Cuſtomes taking Horſe from *Dorcheſter*, found them Spies and Enemies. For being commanded to come and give account of thir ladeing at the Kings Cuſtome Houſe, they ſlew him and all who came with him; as an earneſt of the many ſlaughters, rapines, and hoſtilities, which they return'd not long after to commit over all the Iland. *Pontan. L. 3.*
Of this Daniſh firſt arrival, and on a ſudden worſe then hoſtile Aggreſſion, the Daniſh Hiſtory far otherwiſe relates, as if thir landing had bin at the mouth of *Humber*, and thir ſpoilfull march far into

the Country; though ſoon repelld by the Inhabitants, they haſted back as faſt to thir Ships: But from what cauſe, what reaſon of ſtate, what Authority or publick counſell the invaſion proceeded, makes not mention, and our wonder yet the more, by telling us that *Sigefrid* then King in *Denmarke*, and long after, was a man ſtudious more of peace and quiet then
Pontan. L. 4. of warlike matters. Theſe therefore ſeem rather to have bin ſome wanderers at Sea, who with publick Commiſſion, or without, through love of ſpoil, or hatred of Chriſtianity, ſeeking booties on any land of Chriſtians, came by chance or weather
790. on this ſhore. The next year *Oſred* in *Northumberland*,
Sim. Dun. who driv'n out by his Nobles had giv'n place to *Ethelred*, was tak'n and forcibly ſhav'n a Monk
791. at *Yorke*. And the year after, *Oelf*, and *Oelfwin*,
Sim. Dun. Sons of *Elfwald*, formerly King, were drawn by fair promiſes from the principal Church of *Yorke*, and after by command of *Ethelred*, cruelly put to Death at *Wonwaldremere*, a Village by the great Pool in
Camden. *Lancaſhire*, now call'd *Winandermere*. Nor was the
792. third year leſs bloody; for *Oſred*, who not likeing a
Sim. Dun. ſhav'n Crown, had deſir'd baniſhment and obtain'd
Sim. Dun. it, returning from the Ile of *Man* with ſmall For-
Eccles. L. 2. ces, at the ſecret but deceitfull call of certain Nobles, who by Oath had promis'd to aſſiſt him, was alſo tak'n, and by *Ethelred* dealt with in the ſame manner; who the better to avouch his Cruelties, therupon married *Elfled* the Daughter of *Offa*: for in *Offa* was found as little Faith or mercy. He the ſame year having drawn to his Palace *Ethelbrite* King of *Eaſt-Angles*, with fair invitations to marry his Daughter, caus'd him to be there inhoſpitably beheaded, and his Kingdome wrongfully ſeis'd, by the wicked counſel of his Wife, ſaith *Mat. Weſt.* annexing

nexing thereto a long unlikely Tale. For which violence and bloodſhed to make attonement, with Fryers at leſt, he beſtows the reliques of St. *Alban*, in a ſhrine of Pearl and Gold. Far worſe it far'd the next year with the reliques in *Lindisfarne*; where the *Danes* landing, pillag'd that Monaſtery, and of Fryers kill'd ſome, carried away others Captive, ſparing neither Preiſt nor Lay: which many ſtrange thunders and fiery Dragons, with other impreſſions in the air ſeen frequently before, were judg'd to foreſignifie. This year *Alric* third Son of *Vitred* ended in *Kent* his long Reign of 34 years: with him ended the race of *Hengiſt*: thenceforth whomſoever wealth or faction advanc'd, took on him the name and ſtate of a King. The *Saxon Annals* of 784. name *Ealmund* then reigning in *Kent*; but that conſiſts not with the time of *Alric*, and I find him no where elſe mentiond. The year following was remarkable for the Death of *Offa* the *Mercian*, a ſtrenuous and ſuttle King; he had much intercourſe with *Charles* the Great, at firſt enmity, to the interdicting of commerce on either ſide, at length much amity and firm League, as appears by the Letter of *Charles* himſelf yet extant, procur'd by *Alcuin* a learned and prudent man, though a Monk, whom the Kings of *England* in thoſe days had ſent Orator into *France*, to maintain good correſpondence between them and *Charles* the Great. He granted, ſaith *Huntingdon*, a perpetual tribute to the Pope out of every Houſe in his Kingdome; for yeilding perhaps to tranſlate the Primacy of *Canterbury* to *Lichfeild* in his own Dominion. He drew a trench of wondrous length between *Mercia* and the *Britiſh* Confines, from Sea to Sea. *Ecferth* the Son of *Offa*, a Prince of great hope, who alſo had bin Crown'd 9 years before his Fathers

793. *Sim. Dun.*

794. *Malmſ.*

Aſſer. Menē Sim. Dun.

Fathers Deceaſe, reſtoring to the Church what his Father had ſeis'd on: yet within fowr Months by a ſickneſs ended his Reign. And to *Kenulf* next in right of the ſame Progeny bequeath'd his Kingdome. Mean while the *Daniſh* Pirats who ſtill waſted *Northumberland*, ventring on ſhoar to ſpoil another Monaſtery at the mouth of the River *Don*, were aſſail'd by the Engliſh, thir Cheif Captain ſlain on the place; then returning to Sea, were moſt of them Ship-wrack'd; others driv'n again on ſhoar, were put all to the Sword. *Simeon* attributes this thir puniſhment to the power of St. *Cudbert*, offended with them for the rifling of his Covent. Two years after this, dy'd *Ethelred* twice King, but not exempted at laſt from the fate of many his predeceſſors, miſerably ſlain by his people, ſome ſay deſervedly as not inconſcious with them who train'd *Oſred* to his ruin. *Osbald* a Nobleman exalted to the Throne, and in leſs then a month, deſerted and expell'd, was forc'd to fly at laſt from *Lindiſfarne* by Sea to the *Pictiſh* King, and dy'd an Abbot. *Eardulf* whom *Ethelred* ſix years before had commanded to be put to Death at *Ripun*, before the Abbey-Gate, dead as was ſuppos'd, and with ſolemn Dirge carried into the Church, after midnight found there alive, I read not how, then baniſh'd, now recall'd, was in *Yorke* created King. In *Kent*, *Ethelbert* or *Prem*, whom the Annals call *Eadbright* (ſo different they often are one from another, both in timeing and in nameing) by ſome means having uſurp'd regal power, after two years Reign contending with *Kenulf* the *Mercian*, was by him tak'n Pris'ner, and ſoon after, out of pious commiſeration let go: but not receav'd of his own, what became of him, *Malmsbury* leaves in doubt. *Simeon* writes, that *Kenulf* commanded to

796. *Sim. Dun.*

put

put out his Eyes, and lop off his hands; but whether the ſentence were executed or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of expreſſion. The ſecond year after this, they in *Northumberland* who had conſpir'd againſt *Ethelred*, now alſo raiſing War againſt *Eardulf*, under *Wada* thir Cheif Captain, after much havock on either ſide at *Langho*, by *Whaley* in *Lancaſhire*, the Conſpirators at laſt flying, *Eardulf* return'd with Victory. The ſame year *London*, with a great multitude of her Inhabitants, by a ſudden fire was conſum'd. The year 800. made way for great alteration in *England*, uniting her ſeaven Kingdoms into one, by *Ecbert* the famous *Weſt-Saxon*; him *Birthric* dying Childleſs left next to reign, the only ſurviver of that linage, deſcended from *Inegild* the Brother of King *Ina*. And according to his Birth liberally bred, he began early from his youth to give ſignal hopes of more then ordinary worth growing up in him; which *Birthric* fearing, and with all his juſter title to the Crown, ſecretly ſought his life, and *Ecbert* perceaving, fled to *Offa* the *Mercian*: but he having married *Eadburg* his Daughter to *Birthric*, eaſily gave ear to his Embaſſadors; coming to require *Ecbert*, he again put to his ſhifts, eſcap'd thence into *France*; but after three years baniſhment there, which perhaps contributed much to his education, *Charles* the Great then reigning, he was call'd over by the publick voice (for *Birthric* was newly dead) and with general applauſe created King of *Weſt-Saxons*. The ſame day *Ethelmund* at *Kinneresford*, paſſing over with the *Worceſterſhire* men, was met by *Weolſtan* another Nobleman with thoſe of *Wiltſhire*, between whom happ'nd a great fray, wherin the *Wiltſhire* men overcame, but both Dukes were ſlain, no reaſon of thir quarrel writ'n; ſuch

798. *Sim. Dun.*

800. *Malmſ.*

Sax. an

ſuch bickerings to recount, met oft'n in theſe our Writers, what more worth is it then to Chronicle the Wars of Kites, or Crows, flocking and fighting in the
801. Air? The year following, *Eardulf* the *Northumbrian*,
Sim. Dun. leading forth an Army againſt *Kenulf* the *Mercian*, for harboring certain of his Enemies, by the diligent mediation of other Princes and Prelats, Armes were laid aſide, and amity ſoon ſworn be-
Malmſ. L. 2. tween them. But *Eadburga* the Wife of *Birthric*, a
Aſſer. woeman every way wicked, in malice eſpecially cru-
802. el, could not or car'd not to appeaſe the general ha-
Sim. Dun. tred juſtly conceiv'd againſt her; accuſtom'd in her Huſbands days to accuſe any whom ſhe ſpighted; and not prevailing to his ruin, her practice was by poiſon ſecretly to contrive his Death. It fortun'd that the King her Huſband, lighting on a Cup which ſhe had temperd, not for him, but for one of his great Favourites, whom ſhe could not harm by accuſeing, ſip'd therof only, and in a while after ſtill pineing away, ended his days; the favourite drinking deeper found ſpeedier the operation. She fearing to be queſtiond for theſe facts, with what treaſure ſhe had, paſs'd over-ſea to *Charles* the Great, whom with rich guifts coming to his preſence, the Emperour courtly receav'd with this pleaſant propoſal: Chooſe *Eadburga*, which of us two thou wilt, me or my Son (for his Son ſtood by him) to be thy Huſband. She no diſſembler of what ſhe lik'd beſt, made eaſie anſwer. Were it in my choiſe, I ſhould chooſe of the two your Son rather, as the younger man. To whom the Emperour between jeſt and earneſt, hadſt thou choſen me, I had beſtow'd on thee my Son; but ſince thou haſt chos'n him, thou ſhalt have neither him nor me. Nevertheleſs he aſſign'd her a rich Monaſtery to dwell in as Abbeſs; for that life it may ſeem,

ſeem, ſhe choſe next to profeſs; but being a while after detected of unchaſtity, with one of her followers, ſhe was commanded to depart thence; from that time wandring poorly up and down with one Servant, in *Pavia* a City of *Italy*, ſhe finiſh'd at laſt in beggery her ſhamefull life. In the year 805. *Cuthred*, whom *Kenulf* the *Mercian* had, inſtead of *Fren*, made King in *Kent*, having obſcurely reign'd 8 years, deceas'd. In *Northumberland*, *Eardulf* the year following was driv'n out of his Realm by *Alfwold*, who Reign'd two years in his room; after whom *Eandred* Son of *Eardulf* 33 years; but I ſee not how this can ſtand with the ſequel of ſtory out of better Authors: Much leſs that which *Buchanan* relates, the year following, of *Acaius* King of *Scots*, who having reign'd 32 years, and dying in 809, had formerly aided (but in what year of his Reign tells not) *Hungus* King of *Picts* with 10000 *Scots*, againſt *Athelſtan* a Saxon or Engliſh-man, then waſting the *Pictiſh* Borders; that *Hungus* by the aid of thoſe *Scots* and the help of St. *Andrew* thir Patron, in a Viſion by night, and the appearance of his croſs by day, routed the aſtoniſht Engliſh, and ſlew *Athelſtan* in fight. Who this *Athelſtan* was, I believe no man knows; *Buchanan* ſuppoſes him to have been ſome *Daniſh* Commander, on whom King *Alured*, or *Alfred*, had beſtow'd *Northumberland*; but of this I find no footſteps in our antient Writers; and if any ſuch thing were done in the time of *Alfred*, it muſt be little leſs then 100. years after; this *Athelſtan* therefore, and this great overthrow, ſeems rather to have bin the fancy of ſome Legend then any warrantable Record. Mean while *Ecbert*, having with much Prudence, Juſtice, and Clemency, a work of more then one year, eſtabliſht his Kingdome and

805. *Malmſ. Sax. ann.* 806. *Huntingd. Sim. Dun.* 808. *Mat. Weſt.* 809. *Sim. Dun.* 813. *Sax. an.*

himſelf in the affections of his people, turns his firſt enterpriſe againſt the *Britans*, both them of *Cornwal* and thoſe beyond *Seavern*, ſubdueing both. In *Mercia*, *Kenulf* the *6th.* year after, having reign'd with great praiſe of his religious mind and vertues both in Peace and War, deceas'd. His Son *Kenelm*, a Child of ſeaven years, was committed to the care of his Elder Siſter *Quendrid*; who with a female ambition aſpiring to the Crown, hir'd one who had the charge of his nurture, to murder him, led into a woody place upon pretence of hunting. The murder, as is reported, was miraculouſly reveal'd; but to tell how, by a Dove droping a writt'n note on the Altar at *Rome*, is a long ſtory, told, though out of order, by *Malmsbury*; and under the year 821. by *Mat. Weſt.* where I leave it to be ſought by ſuch as are more credulous then I wiſh my Readers. Only the note was to this purpoſe.

819. *Sax. an. Malmſ.*

Low in a mead of Kine under a Thorn,
Of head bereſt li'th poor Kenelm *King-born.*

Keolwulf the Brother of *Kenulf*, after one years Reign was driv'n out by one *Bernulf* an Uſurper: who in his third year, uncertain whether invading or invaded, was by *Ecbert*, though with great loſs on both ſides, overthrown and put to flight at *Ellandune* or *Wilton:* yet *Malmsbury* accounts this Battel fought in 806, a wide difference, but frequently found in thir computations. *Bernulf* thence retireing to the *Eaſt-Angles*, as part of his Dominion by the late ſeiſure of *Offa*, was by them met in the field and ſlain: but they doubting what the *Mercians* might do in revenge hereof, forthwith yielded themſelves both King and people to the Sovrantie of *Ecbert*. As for the

820. *Ingulf.* 823. *Sax. an.*

the Kings of *Eaſt-Angles*, our Annals mention them not ſince *Ethelwald*; him ſucceeded his Brothers Sons, as we find in *Malmsbury*, *Aldulf* (a good King, well acquainted with *Bede*) and *Elwold* who left the Kingdome to *Beorn*, he to *Ethelred* the Father of *Ethelbrite*, whom *Offa* perfidiouſly put to Death. *Simeon* and *Hoveden*, in the year 749. write that *Elfwald* King of *Eaſt-Angles* dying, *Humbeanna* and *Albert* ſhar'd the Kingdom between them; but where to inſert this among the former ſucceſſions is not eaſie, nor much material: after *Ethelbrite*, none is nam'd of that Kingdom till thir ſubmitting now to *Ecbert*: he from this Victory againſt *Bernulf* ſent part of his Army under *Ethelwulf* his Son, with *Alſtan* Biſhop of *Shirburn*, and *Wulferd* a Chief Commander, into *Kent*. Who finding *Baldred* there reigning in his 18*th*. year, overcame and drove him over the *Thames*; whereupon all *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, and laſtly *Eſſex*, with her King *Swithred*, became ſubject to the Dominion of *Ecbert*. Neither were theſe all his exploits of this year, the firſt in order ſet down in *Saxon Annals*, being his fight againſt the *Devonſhire Welch*, at a place call'd *Gaſulford*, now *Camelford* in *Cornwal*. *Ludiken* the *Mercian*, after two years preparing to avenge *Bernulf* his Kinſman on the *Eaſt-Angles*, was by them with his five Conſuls, as the Annals call them, ſurpris'd and put to the Sword: and *Withlaf* his ſucceſſor firſt vanquiſht, then upon ſubmiſſion with all *Mercia*, made tributary to *Ecbert*. Mean while the *Northumbrian* Kingdom of it ſelf was fall'n to ſhivers; thir Kings one after another ſo oft'n ſlain by the people, no man dareing, though never ſo ambitious, to take up the Scepter which many had found ſo hot, (the only effectual cure of ambition that I have read) for the

Florent. *Genealog.* *Bed. L.* 2. *c.* 15.

Camd. 825. *Ingulf.*

ſpace of 33 years, after the Death of *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, as *Malmsbury* writes, there was no King: many Noblemen and Prelats were fled the Country. Which miſ-rule among them, the *Danes* having underſtood, oft-times from thir Ships entring far into the land, infeſted thoſe parts with wide depopulations, waſting Towns, Churches, and Monaſteries, for they were yet Heathen: The *Lent* before whoſe coming, on the North-ſide of St. *Peters* Church in *Yorke*, was ſeen from the roof to rain blood. The cauſes of theſe calamities, and the ruin of that Kingdom, *Alcuin*, a learned Monk living in thoſe days, attributes in ſeveral Epiſtles, and well may, to the general ignorance and decay of lerning, which crept in among them after the Death of *Beda*, and of *Eckert* the Archbiſhop; thir neglect of breeding up youth in the Scriptures, the ſpruce and gay apparel of thir Preiſts and Nuns, diſcovering thir vain and wanton minds, examples are alſo read, eev'n in *Beda*'s days, of thir wanton deeds: thence Altars defil'd with perjuries, Cloiſters violated with Adulteries, the Land polluted with blood of thir Princes, civil diſſentions among the people, and finally all the ſame vices which *Gildas* alledg'd of old to have ruin'd the *Britans*. In this eſtate *Ecbert*, who had now conquerd all the South, finding them in the
827. year 827. (for he was march'd thether with an Army to compleat his Conqueſt of the whole Iland) no wonder if they ſubmitted themſelves to the yoke without reſiſtance, *Eandred* thir King becoming Tri-
828. butary. Thence turning his forces the year follow-
Mat. Weſt. ing, he ſubdu'd more throughly what remain'd of *North-Wales*.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

The Fifth Book.

THE ſum of things in this Iland, or the beſt part therof, reduc't now under the power of one man; and him one of the worthieſt, which, as far as can be found in good Authors, was by none attain'd at any time heer before unleſs in Fables; men might with ſome reaſon have expected from ſuch Union, peace and plenty, greatneſs, and the flouriſhing of all Eſtates and Degrees: but far the contrary fell out ſoon after, Invaſion, Spoil, Deſolation, ſlaughter of many, ſlavery of the reſt, by the forcible landing of a fierce Nation; *Danes* commonly

commonly call'd, and ſomtimes *Dacians*, by others, the ſame with *Normans*; as barbarous as the *Saxons* themſelves were at firſt reputed, and much more; for the *Saxons* firſt invited came hither to dwell; *Calviſius.* theſe unſent for, unprovok'd, came only to deſtroy. But if the *Saxons*, as is above related, came moſt of them from *Jutland* and *Anglen*, a part of *Denmarke*, as *Daniſh* Writers affirm, and that *Danes* and *Normans* are the ſame; then in this invaſion, *Danes* drove out *Danes*, thir own poſterity. And *Normans* after- *Pontan.* wards, none but antienter *Normans*. Which inva- *hiſt. Dan.* ſion perhaps, had the Heptarchie ſtood divided as it was, had either not bin attempted, or not uneaſily reſiſted; while each Prince and people, excited by thir neereſt concernments, had more induſtriouſly defended thir own bounds, then depending on the neglect of a deputed Governour, ſent oft-times from the remote reſidence of a ſecure Monarch. Though as it fell out in thoſe troubles, the leſſer Kingdoms revolting from the *Weſt-Saxon* yoke, and not aiding each other, too much concern'd with thir own ſafety, it came to no better paſs; while ſeverally they ſought to repell the danger nigh at hand, rather then jointly to prevent it farre off. But when God hath decreed ſervitude on a ſinful Nation, fitted by thir own vices for no condition but ſervile, all Eſtates of Government are alike unable to avoid it. God had purpos'd to puniſh our inſtrumental puniſhers, though now Chriſtians, by other Heathen, according to his Divine retaliation; invaſion for invaſion, ſpoil for ſpoil, deſtruction for deſtruction. The *Saxons* were now full as wicked as the *Britans* were at their arrival, brok'n with luxurie and ſloth, either ſecular or ſuperſtitious; for laying aſide the exerciſe of Arms,

and

and the ſtudy of all vertuous knowledge, ſome betook them to over-worldly or vitious practice, others to religious Idleneſs and Solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and deluſive viſions; eaſily perceav'd ſuch, by thir commanding of things, either not belonging to the Goſpel, or utterly forbidden, Ceremonies, Reliques, Monaſteries, Maſſes, Idols, add to theſe oſtentation of Alms, got oftimes by rapine and oppreſſion, or intermixt with violent and luſtfull deeds, ſometimes prodigally beſtow'd as the expiation of cruelty and bloodſhed. What longer ſuffering could there be, when Religion it ſelf grew ſo void of ſincerity, and the greateſt ſhews of purity were impur'd?

Ecbert.

Ecbert in full highth of glory, having now enjoy'd his Conqueſt ſeaven peacefull years, his victorious Army long ſince diſbanded, and the exerciſe of Armes perhaps laid aſide, the more was found unprovided againſt a ſudden ſtorm of *Danes* from the Sea, who landing in the 32. of his Reign, 832.
waſted *Shepey* in *Kent*. *Ecbert* the next year, ga- *Sax. an.*
thering an Army, for he had heard of thir arrival 833.
in 35 Ships, gave them Battail by the River *Carr* in *Sax. an.*
Dorſetſhire; the event wherof was, that the *Danes* kept thir ground, and encampt where the field was fought; two *Saxon* Leaders, *Dudda* and *Oſmund*, and two Biſhops, as ſome ſay, were there ſlain. This was the only check of Fortune we read of, that *Ecbert* in all his time receav'd. For the *Danes* returning

two

835. two years after with a great Navy, and joining For-
Sax. an. ces with the *Corniſh*, who had enterd League with them, were overthrown and put to flight. Of theſe invaſions againſt *Ecbert*, the *Daniſh* Hiſtory is not ſilent; whether out of thir own Records or ours, may be juſtly doubted; for of theſe times at home, I find them in much uncertainty, and beholding rather to Out-landiſh Chronicles then any Records of thir own. The Victor *Ecbert*, as one who had done
836. enough, ſeaſonably now, after proſperous ſucceſs,
Sax. an. the next year with glory ended his days, and was buried at *Wincheſter*.

Ethelwolf.

Ethelwolf the Son of *Ecbert* ſucceeded, by *Malmſbury* deſcrib'd a man of mild nature, not inclin'd to War, or delighted with much Dominion; that therfore contented with the antient *Weſt-Saxon*
Mat. Weſt. bounds, he gave to *Ethelſtan* his Brother, or Son, as ſome write, the Kingdome of *Kent* and *Eſſex*. But the *Saxon* Annaliſt, whoſe Autority is Elder, ſaith plainly, that both theſe Countries and *Suſſex*, were bequeath'd to *Ethelſtan* by *Ecbert* his Father. The unwarlike diſpoſition of *Ethelwolf*, gave encouragement no doubt, and eaſier entrance to the *Danes*,
837. who came again the next year with 33 Ships; but
Sax. an. *Wulfheard*, one of the Kings Chief Captains, drove them back at *Southamton* with great ſlaughter; himſelf dying the ſame year, of Age, as I ſuppoſe, for he ſeems to have bin one of *Ecberts* old Commanders, who was ſent with *Ethelwolf* to ſubdue *Kent*. *Ethelbelin*

helam another of the Kings Captains with the *Dorſetſhire* men, had at firſt like ſucceſs againſt the *Danes* at *Portſmouth*; but they reinforcing ſtood thir ground, and put the Engliſh to rout. Worſe was the ſucceſs of Earl *Herebert* at a place call'd *Mereſwar*, ſlain with the moſt part of his Army. The year following in *Lindſey* alſo, *Eaſt-Angles*, and *Kent*, much miſchief was don by thir landing; where the next year, embold'nd by ſucceſs, they came on as far as *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, and *London* it ſelf, with no leſs cruel hoſtility: and giving no reſpit to the peaceable mind of *Ethelwolf*, they yet return'd with the next year in 35 Ships, fought with him, as before with his Father, at the River *Carr*, and made good thir ground. In *Northumberland*, *Eandred* the Tributary King deceaſing, left the ſame tenure to his Son *Ethelred* driv'n out in his fowrth year, and ſucceeded by *Readwulf*, who ſoon after his Coronation haſting forth to Battel againſt the *Danes* at *Alvetheli*, fell with the moſt part of his Army; and *Ethelred* like in fortune to the former *Ethelred*, was re-exalted to his Seat. And to be yet further like him in Fate, was ſlain the fowrth year after. *Osbert* ſucceeded in his room. But more ſoutherly, the *Danes* next year after met with ſome ſtop in the full courſe of thir outragious inſolences. For *Earnulf* with the men of *Somerſet*, *Alſtan* the Biſhop, and *Oſric* with thoſe of *Dorſetſhire*, ſetting upon them at the Rivers mouth of *Fedridan*, ſlaughterd them in great numbers, and obtain'd a juſt Victory. This repulſe queld them, for ought we hear, the ſpace of ſix years; Then alſo renewing thir invaſion with little better ſucceſs. For *Keorle* an Earl, aided with the Forces of *Devonſhire*, aſſaulted and over-threw them at *Wigganbeorch* with

838. *Sax. an.*
839. *Sax. an.*
840. *Sax. an.* *Sim. Dun.* *Mat. Weſt.*
844.
845. *Sax. an.*
851. *Sax. an.* *Aſſer.*

great deſtruction; as proſperouſly were they fought with the ſame year at *Sandwich*, by King *Ethelſtan*, and *Ealker* his General, thir great Army defeated, and nine of thir Ships tak'n, the reſt driv'n off, however to ride out the Winter on that ſhoar, *Aſſer* ſaith, they then firſt winter'd in *Shepey Ile*. Hard it is, through the bad expreſſion of theſe Writers, to define this fight, whether by Sea or Land; *Hoveden* terms it a Sea fight. Nevertheleſs with 50 Ships (*Aſſer* and others add 300) they enterd the mouth of *Thames*, and made excurſions as far as *Canterbury* and *London*, and as *Ethelwerd* writes, deſtroy'd both; of *London*, *Aſſer* ſignifies only that they pillag'd it. *Bertulf* alſo the *Mercian*, ſucceſſor of *Withlaf*, with all his Army they forc'd to fly, and him beyond the Sea. Then paſſing over *Thames* with thir powers into *Surrey*, and the *Weſt-Saxons*, and meeting there with King *Ethelwolf* and *Ethelbald* his Son, at a place call'd *Ak-Lea*, or *Oak-Lea*, they receav'd a total defeat with memorable ſlaughter. This was counted a lucky year to *England*, and brought to *Ethelwolf* great reputation. *Burhed* therfore, who after *Bertulf* held of him the *Mercian* Kingdom, two years after this, imploring his aid againſt the *North-Welch*, as then troubleſome to his Confines, obtain'd it of him in perſon, and therby reduc'd them to obedience. This done, *Ethelwolf* ſent his Son *Alfrid* a Child of five years, well accompanied to *Rome*, whom *Leo* the Pope both conſecrated to be King afterward, and adoptedto be his Son; at home *Ealker* with the Forces of *Kent*, and *Huda* with thoſe of *Surrey*, fell on the *Danes* at thir landing in *Tanet*, and at firſt put them back; but the ſlain and drown'd were at length ſo many on either ſide, as left the loſs equal on both: which

Huntingd. *Mat Weſt.*

853. *Sax. an.* *Aſſer.*

which yet hinderd not the ſolemnity of a marriage at the feaſt of *Eaſter*, between *Burhed* the *Mercian*, and *Ethelſwida* King *Ethelwolf*'s Daughter. Howbeit the *Danes* next year winterd again in *Shepey*. Whom *Ethelwolf* not finding human health ſufficient to reſiſt, growing daily upon him, in hope of divine aid, regiſterd in a Book, and dedicated to God the tenth part of his own lands, and of his whole Kingdome, eas'd of all impoſitions, but converted to the maintenance of Maſſes and Pſalms weekly to be ſung for the proſpering of *Ethelwolf* and his Captains, as appears at large by the Patent it ſelf, in *William* of *Malmsbury*. *Aſſer* ſaith, de did it for the redemtion of his Soul and the Soul of his Anceſtors. After which, as having done ſome great matter to ſhew himſelf at *Rome*, and be applauded of the Pope; he takes a long and cumberſome journey thether with young *Alfrid* again, and there ſtaies a year, when his place requir'd him rather heer in the field againſt Pagan Enemies left wintring in his land. Yet ſo much manhood he had, as to return thence no Monk; and in his way home took to Wife *Judith* Daughter of *Charles* the bald, King of *France*. But ere his return, *Ethelbald* his eldeſt Son, *Alſtan* his truſty Biſhop, and *Enulf* Earl of *Somerſet* conſpir'd againſt him; thir complaints were, that he had tak'n with him *Alfrid* his youngeſt Son to be there inaugurated King, and brought home with him an out-landiſh Wife; for which they endeavourd to deprive him of his Kingdom. The diſturbance was expected to bring forth nothing leſs then War: but the King abhorring civil diſcord, after many conferences tending to peace, condeſcended to divide the Kingdom with his Son; diviſion was made, but the matter ſo

Malmſ. 854.
Sax. an.
855.
Aſſer.
Aſſer.

carried, that the Eaſtern and worſt part was malignly afforded to the Father: The Weſtern and beſt giv'n to the Son, at which many of the Nobles had great indignation, offring to the King thir utmoſt aſſiſtance for the recovery of all; whom he peacefully diſſuading, ſat down contented with his portion aſſign'd. In the *Eaſt-Angles*, *Edmund* lineal from the antient ſtock of thoſe Kings, a youth of 14 years only, but of great hopes, was with conſent of all but
857. his own Crown'd at *Burie*. About this time, as *Euchanan* relates, the *Picts*, who not long before had by the *Scots* bin driv'n out of thir Countrey, part of them coming to *Osbert* and *Ella*, then Kings of *Northumberland*, obtain'd aid againſt *Donaldus* the *Scotiſh* King, to recover thir antient poſſeſſion. *Osbert* who in perſon undertook the expedition, marching into *Scotland*, was at firſt put to a retreat; but returning ſoon after on the *Scots*, over-ſecure of thir ſuppos'd Victory, put them to flight with great ſlaughter, took Pris'ner thir King, and perſu'd his Victory beyond *Sterlinbridge*. The *Scots* unable to reſiſt longer, and by Embaſſadors entreating peace, had it granted them on theſe conditions: the *Scots* were to quit all they had poſſeſs'd within the Wall of *Severus*: the limits of *Scotland* were beneath *Sterlinbridge* to be the River *Forth*, and on the other ſide, *Dunbritton Frith*; from that time ſo call'd of the *Brittiſh* then ſeated in *Cumberland*, who had joind with *Osbert* in this Action, and ſo far extended on that ſide the *Brittiſh* limits. If this be true, as the *Scotch* Writers themſelv's witneſs (and who would think them Fabulous to the diſparagement of thir own Country?) how much wanting have bin our Hiſtorians to thir Countries Honour, in leting paſs unmention'd

unmention'd an exploit ſo memorable, by them remembered and atteſted, who are wont ofter to extenuate then to amplifie aught done in *Scotland* by the Engliſh? *Donaldus* on theſe conditions releas't, ſoon after dyes; according to *Buchanan*, in 858. *Ethelwolf* Chief King in *England*, had the year before ended his life, and was buried as his Father at *Wincheſter*. He was from his youth much addicted to devotion; ſo that in his Fathers time he was ordain'd Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and unwillingly, for want of other Legitimate Iſſue, ſucceeded him in the Throne; mannaging therfore his greateſt affairs by the activity of two Biſhops, *Alſtan* of *Sherburne*, and *Swithine* of *Wincheſter*. But *Alſtan* is noted of Covetouſneſs and Oppreſſion, by *William* of *Malmsbury*; the more vehemently no doubt for doing ſome notable damage to that Monaſtery. The ſame Author writes, that *Ethelwolf* at *Rome*, paid a Tribute to the Pope, continu'd to his dayes. However he were facil to his Son, and ſeditious Nobles, in yeilding up part of his Kingdome, yet his Queen he treated not the leſs honourably, for whomſoever it diſpleas'd. The *Weſt-Saxon* had decreed ever ſince the time of *Eadburga*, the infamous Wife of *Birthric*, that no Queen ſhould ſit in State with the King, or be digniſi'd with the Title of Queen. But *Ethelwolf* permitted not that *Judith* his Queen ſhould looſe any point of Regal State by that Law. At his Death, he divided the Kingdom between his two Sons, *Ethelbald*, and *Ethelbert*; to the younger *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, to the Elder all the reſt; to *Peter* and *Paul* certain revenues yearly, for what uſes let others relate, who write alſo his Pedigree, from Son to Father, up to *Adam*.

Mat. Weſt.

Malmſ.

Sigon. de regn. Ital. L. 5.

Aſſer.

Ethelbald,

Ethelbald, and *Ethelbert*.

Aſſer. *Malmſ.* *Sim. Dun.*

Ethelbald, unnatural and diſloyal to his Father, fell juſtly into another, though contrary ſin, of too much love to his Fathers Wife; and whom at firſt he oppos'd coming into the Land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes into his Bed; but not long enjoying, dy'd at three years end, without doing aught more worthy to be rememberd; having reign'd two years with his Father, impiouſly uſurping, and three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And his hap was all that while to be unmoleſted by the *Danes*; not of Divine favour doubtleſs, but to his greater condemnation, living the more ſecurely his inceſtuous life. *Huntingdon* on the other ſide much praiſes *Ethelbald*, and writes him buried at *Sherburn*, with great ſorrow of the people, who miſs'd him long after. *Mat. Weſt.* ſaith, that he repented of his inceſt with *Judith*, and diſmiſs'd her: but *Aſſer* an Eye witneſs of thoſe times, mentions no ſuch thing.

860.

Sax. an.

Ethelbert alone.

Ethelbald by Death remov'd, the whole Kingdom came rightfully to *Ethelbert* his next Brother. Who though a Prince of great Vertue and no blame, had as ſhort a Reign allotted him as his faulty Brother, nor that ſo peacefull; once or twice invaded by the *Danes*. But they having landed in the Weſt with

with a great Army, and ſackt *Wincheſter*, were met by *Oſric* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Ethelwolf* of *Barkſhire*, beat'n to thir Ships, and forc't to leave thir booty. Five years after, about the time of his Death, they ſet foot again in *Tanet*; the Kentiſh men wearied out with ſo frequent Alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain ſum of money; but ere the peace could be ratifi'd, and the money gatherd, the *Danes* impatient of delay by a ſudden eruption in the night, ſoon waſted all the *Eaſt* of *Kent*. Mean while or ſomething before, *Ethelbert* deceaſing was buried as his Brother at *Sherburne*. 855. *Sax. an.*

Ethelred.

Ethelred the third, Son of *Ethelwolf*, at his firſt coming to the Crown was entertain'd with a freſh invaſion of *Danes*, led by *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, two Brothers, who now had got footing among the *Eaſt-Angles*; there they winterd, and coming to terms of peace with the Inhabitants, furniſh'd themſelves of Horſes, forming by that means many Troops with Riders of thir own: Theſe Pagans, *Aſſer* ſaith, came from the River *Danubius*. Fitted thus for a long expedition, they ventur'd the next year to make thir way over land and over *Humber*, as far as *Yorke*, them they found to thir hands imbroil'd in civil diſſentions; thir King *Osbert* they had thrown out, and *Ella* Leader of another faction choſen in his room; who both, though late, admoniſh'd by thir common danger, towards the years end with united powers made head againſt the *Danes* and prevail'd; but perſueing them over-eagerly into *Yorke*, 866. *Sax. an. Huntingd.* 867. *Sax. an.*

Aſſer. *Yorke*, then but ſlenderly wall'd, the *Northumbrians* were every where ſlaughter'd, both within and without; thir Kings alſo both ſlain, thir City burnt, ſaith *Malmsbury*, the reſt as they could, made thir peace, over-run and vanquiſht as far as the River *Tine*, and *Egbert* of Engliſh race appointed King over them. *Bromton* no antient Author (for he wrote ſince *Mat. Weſt.*) nor of much credit, writes a particular cauſe of the *Danes* coming to *Yorke*: that *Bruern* a Nobleman, whoſe Wife King *Osbert* had raviſht, call'd in *Hinguar* and *Hubba* to revenge him. The example is re-

868. markable if the truth were as evident. Thence victorious, the *Danes* next year enterd into *Mercia* towards *Nottingham*, where they ſpent the Winter. *Burhed* then King of that Country, unable to reſiſt, implores the aid of *Ethelred* and young *Alfred* his Brother, they aſſembling thir Forces and joining with the *Mercians* about *Nottingham*, offer Battel:

Aſſer. the *Danes* not daring to come forth, kept themſelves within that Town and Caſtle, ſo that no great fight was hazarded there; at length the *Mercians* weary of long ſuſpence, enterd into conditions of peace with thir Enemies. After which the *Danes* returning back to *Yorke*, made thir abode there the ſpace

869. of one year, committing, ſome ſay, many cruelties.

Sim. Dun. Thence imbarking to *Lindſey*, and all the Summer

870. deſtroying that Country, about *September* they

Ingulf. came with like fury into *Keſteven*, another part of *Lincolnſhire*, where *Algar* the Earl of *Howland* now *Holland*, with his Forces, and two hunderd ſtout Souldiers belonging to the Abbey of *Croiland*, three hunderd from about *Boſton*, *Morcard* Lord of *Brunne*, with his numerous Family, well train'd and arm'd: *Oſgot* Governour of *Lincoln* with 500. of that City,

all

all joyning together, gave Battel to the *Danes*, ſlew of them a great multitude, with three of thir Kings, and perſu'd the reſt to thir Tents; but the night following, *Gothrun*, *Baſeg*, *Osketil*, *Halfden*, and *Hamond*, five Kings, and as many Earls, *Frena*, *Hinguar*, *Hubba*, *Sidroc* the Elder and Younger, coming in from ſeveral parts with great forces and ſpoils, great part of the Engliſh began to ſlink home. Nevertheleſs *Algar* with ſuch as forſook him not, all next day in order of Battel facing the *Danes*, and ſuſtaining unmov'd the brunt of thir aſſaults, could not withhold his men at laſt from perſueing thir counterfitted flight; wherby op'nd and diſorder'd, they fell into the ſnare of thir Enemies, ruſhing back upon them. *Algar* and thoſe Captains fore-nam'd with him, all reſolute men, retreating to a hill ſide, and ſlaying of ſuch as follow'd them, manifold thir own number, dy'd at length upon heaps of dead which they had made round about them. The *Danes* thence paſſing on into the Country of *Eaſt-Angles*, rifl'd and burnt the Monaſtery of *Elie*, overthrew Earl *Wulketul* with his whole Army, and lodg'd out the Winter at *Thetford*; where King *Edmund* aſſailing them, was with his whole Army put to flight, himſelf tak'n, bound to a ſtake, and ſhot to Death with Arrows, his whole Country ſubdu'd. The next year 871.
with great ſupplies, ſaith *Huntingdon*, bending thir *Sax. an.*
march toward the *Weſt-Saxons*, the only people now left, in whom might ſeem yet to remain ſtrength or courage likely to oppoſe them, they came to *Reading*, fortifi'd there between the two Rivers of *Thames*, and *Kenet*, and about three dayes after, ſent out wings of Horſe under two Earls to forage the Coun- *Aſſer.*
try; but *Ethelwulf* Earl of *Barkſhire*, at *Englefeild* a

Village nigh, encounterd them, ſlew one of thir Earls, and obtain'd a great Victory. Four dayes after came the King himſelf and his Brother *Alfred* with the main Battail; and the *Danes* iſſuing forth, a bloody fight began, on either ſide great ſlaughter, in which Earl *Ethelwulf* loſt his life; but the *Danes* looſing no ground, kept thir place of ſtanding to the end. Neither did the Engliſh for this make leſs haſt to another conflict at *Eſceſdune*, or *Aſhdown*, four dayes after, where both Armies with thir whole force on either ſide met. The *Danes* were imbattail'd in two great Bodies, the one led by *Baſcai* and *Halfden*, thir two Kings, the other by ſuch Earls as were appointed; in like manner the Engliſh divided thir powers, *Ethelred* the King ſtood againſt their Kings; and though on the lower ground, and coming later into the Battail from his Oriſons, gave a fierce onſet, wherin *Baſcai* (the *Daniſh* Hiſtory names him *Erazus* the Son of *Regicerus*) was ſlain. *Alfred* was plac'd againſt the Earls, and beginning the Battail ere his Brother came into the field, with ſuch reſolution charg'd them, that in the ſhock moſt of them were ſlain; they are nam'd *Sidroc* Elder and Younger, *Osbern*, *Frean*, *Harald*; at length in both Diviſions, the *Danes* turn thir backs; many thouſands of them cut off, the reſt perſu'd till night. So much the more it may be wonderd to hear next in the Annals, that the *Danes* 14 days after ſuch an overthrow, fighting again with *Ethelred* and his Brother *Alfred* at *Baſing*, under conduct, ſaith the *Daniſh* Hiſtory, of *Agnerus* and *Hubbo*, Brothers of the ſlain *Evacus*, ſhould obtain the Victory; eſpecially ſince the new ſupply of *Danes* mention'd by *Aſſer*, arriv'd after this action. But after two Months, the King

and

and his Brother fought with them again at *Merton* in two Squadrons as before, in which fight hard it is to underſtand who had the better; ſo darkly do the *Saxon Annals* deliver thir meaning with more then wonted infancy. Yet theſe I take (for *Aſſer* is heer ſilent) to be the Chief Fountain of our ſtory, the ground and baſis upon which the Monks later in time gloſs and comment at thir pleaſure. Nevertheleſs it appears, that on the *Saxon* part, not *Heamund* the Biſhop only, but many valiant men loſt thir lives. This fight was follow'd by a heavy Summer Plague; wherof, as is thought, King *Ethelred* dy'd in the fifth of his Reign, and was buried at *Winburne*, where his Epitaph inſcribes that he had his Deaths wound by the *Danes*, according to the *Daniſh* Hiſtory 872. Of all theſe terrible landings and devaſtations by the *Danes*, from the days of *Ethelwolf* till thir two laſt Battels with *Ethelred*, or of thir Leaders, whether Kings, Dukes, or Earls, the *Daniſh* Hiſtory of beſt credit ſaith nothing; So little Wit or Conſcience it ſeems they had to leave any memory of thir bruriſh, rather then manly actions; unleſs we ſhall ſuppoſe them to have come, as above was cited out of *Aſſer*, from *Dannubius*, rather then from *Denmarke*, more probable ſome barbarous Nations of *Pruſſia*, or *Livonia*, not long before ſeated more Northward on the *Baltic* Sea.

Pontan. hiſt. Dan. L. 4.

Camd.

Alfred.

Alfred the fourth Son of *Ethelwolf*, had ſcarſe perform'd his Brothers obſequies, and the ſolemnity of his own Crowning, when at the months end in haſt with a ſmall power he encounterd the whole Army of *Danes* at *Wilton*, and moſt part of the day foyl'd them; but unwarily following the Chaſe, gave others of them the advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remain'd Maſters of the field. This year, as is affirm'd in the Annals, nine Battels had bin fought againſt the *Danes* on the South-ſide of *Thames*, beſides innumerable excurſions made by *Alfred* and other Leaders; one King, nine Earls were ſlain in fight, ſo that weary on both ſides at the years end, League or Truce was concluded. Yet next year the *Danes* took thir march to *London*, now expos'd thir prey, there they winterd, and thether came the *Mercians* to renue peace with them. The year following they rov'd back to the parts beyond *Humber*, but winter'd at *Torkſey* in *Lincolnſhire*, where the *Mercians* now the third time made peace with them. Notwithſtanding which, removing thir Camp to *Rependune* in *Mercia*, now *Repton* upon *Trent* in *Darbiſhire*, and there wintring, they conſtrein'd *Burhed* the King to fly into Forein parts, makeing ſeiſure of his Kingdome, he running the direct way to *Rome*; with better reaſon then his Anceſtors, dy'd there, and was buried in a Church by the Engliſh School. His Kingdom the *Danes* farm'd out to *Kelwulf*, one of his Houſhold Servants or Officers, with condition to be reſign'd them when

872. *Sax. an.*

873. *Sax. an.* *Camden.*

874. *Sax. an.*

when they commanded. From *Rependune* they diſlodg'd, *Haſden* thir King leading part of his Army Northward, winterd by the River *Tine*, and ſubjecting all thoſe quarters, waſted alſo the *Picts* and *Britiſh* beyond: but *Guthrun*, *Oskitell*, and *Anwynd*, other three of thir Kings moving from *Rependune*, came with a great Army to *Grantbrig*, and remain'd there a whole year. *Alfred* that Summer purpoſing to try his Fortune with a Fleet at Sea (for he had found that the want of Shipping and neglect of Navigation, had expos'd the Land to theſe Piracies) met with 7 *Daniſh* Rovers, took one, the reſt eſcaping; an acceptable ſucceſs from ſo ſmall a begining: for the Engliſh at that time were but little experienc't in Sea affairs. The next years firſt motion of the *Danes* was towards *Warham* Caſtle: where *Alfred* meeting them, either by policy, or their doubt of his power; *Ethelwerd* ſaith, by money brought them to ſuch terms of peace, as that they ſwore to him upon a hallow'd Bracelet, others ſay upon certain Reliques (a Solemn Oath it ſeems which they never voutſaf'd before to any other Nation) forthwith to depart the land: but falſifying that Oath, by night with all the Horſe they had (*Aſſer* ſaith, ſlaying all the Horſeman he had) ſtole to *Exeter*, and there winterd. In *Northumberland*, *Hafden* thir King began to ſettle, to divide the land, to till, and to inhabit. Mean while they in the Weſt who were march'd to *Exeter*, enterd the City, courſing now and then to *Warham*; but thir Fleet the next year ſailing or rowing about the Weſt, met with ſuch a tempeſt neer to *Swanſwich*, or *Gnavewic*, as wrack'd 120 of thir Ships, and left the reſt eaſie to be maiſterd by thoſe Gallies which *Alfred* had ſet there

875. *Sax. an.*

876. *Sax. an.* *Florent.*

Florent.

877. *Sax. an.*

there to guard the Seas, and ſtreit'n *Exeter* of pro-
Aſſer. viſion. He the while beleagering them in the City; now humbl'd with the loſs of thir Navy (two Navies, ſaith *Aſſer*, the one at *Gnavewic*, the other at *Swanwine*) diſtreſs'd them ſo, as that they gave him as many hoſtages as he requir'd, and as many Oaths, to keep thir covnanted peace, and kept it. For the Summer coming on, they departed into *Mercia*, wherof part they divided amongſt themſelves, part
878. left to *Kelwulf* thir ſubſtituted King. The twelftide
Sax. ann. following, all Oaths forgott'n, they came to *Chippenham* in *Wiltſhire*, diſpeopleing the Countries round, diſpoſſeſſing ſome, driving others beyond the Sea; *Alfred* himſelf with a ſmall Company was forc'd to keep within Woods and Fenny places, and for ſome time all alone, as *Florent* ſaith, ſojourn'd with *Dunwulf* a Swine-heard, made afterwards for his devotion, and aptneſs to learning, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.
Sim. Dun. *Hafden* and the Brother of *Hinguar*, coming with 23 Ships from *North-wales*, where they had made great ſpoil, landed in *Devonſhire*, nigh to a ſtrong Caſtle nam'd *Kinwith*; where by the Garriſon iſſuing forth unexpectedly, they were ſlain with 12 hunderd of
Aſſer. thir men. Mean while the King about *Eaſter*, not deſpairing of his affairs, built a Fortreſs at a place call'd *Athelney* in *Somerſetſhire*, therin valiantly defending himſelf and his followers, frequently ſallying forth. The *7th.* week after, he rode out to a place call'd *Ecbryt-ſtone* in the Eaſt part of *Selwood*: thether reſorted to him with much gratulation the *Somerſet* and *Wiltſhire* men, with many out of *Hamſhire*, ſome of whom a little before had fled thir
Camd. Country; with theſe marching to *Ethandune* now *Edindon* in *Wiltſhire*, he gave Battel to the whole

Daniſh

Daniſh power, and put them to flight. Then beſeiging thir Caſtle, within fourteen days took it. *Malmſbury* writes, that in this time of his receſs, to go a ſpy into the *Daniſh* Camp, he took upon him with one Servant the habit of a Fidler; by this means gaining acceſs to the Kings Table, and ſomtimes to his Bed-Chamber, got knowledge of thir ſecrets, thir careleſs encamping, and thereby this opportunity of aſſailing them on a ſudden. The *Danes* by this misfortune brok'n, gave him more hoſtages, and renu'd thir Oaths to depart out of his Kingdom. Thir King *Gytro*, or *Gothrun*, offer'd willingly to receave Baptiſm, and accordingly came with 30 of his friends, to a place call'd *Aldra*, or *Aulre*, neer to *Athelney*, and were baptiz'd at *Wedmore*; where *Alfred* receav'd him out of the Font, and nam'd him *Athelſtan*. After which, they abode with him 12 daies, and were diſmiſs'd with rich preſents. Whereupon the *Danes* remov'd next year to *Cirenceſter*, thence peaceably to the *Eaſt-Angles*; which *Alfred*, as ſome write, had beſtow'd on *Gothrun* to hold of him; the bounds wherof may be read among the Laws of *Alfred*. Others of them went to *Fulham* on the *Thames*, and joining there with a great Fleet newly come into the River, thence paſs't over into *France* and *Flanders*, both which they enterd ſo far conquering or waſting, as witneſs'd ſufficiently, that the *French* and *Flemiſh* were no more able then the *Engliſh*, by Policy or proweſs to keep off that *Daniſh* inundation from thir land. *Alfred* thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent thir landing; Three years after (quiet the mean while) with more Ships and better provided, puts to Sea, and at firſt met with four of theirs, wherof two he took,

Camd.

879. *Sax. an.*

882. *Sax. an.*

took, throwing the men over-board, then with two others, wherin were two of thir Princes, and took them alſo, but not without ſome loſs of his own.

885. After three years another Fleet of them appear'd on
Sax. an. theſe Seas, ſo huge that one part thought themſelves ſufficient to enter upon *Eaſt-France*, the other came to *Rocheſter*, and beleaguerd it, they within ſtoutly defending themſelves, till *Alfred* with great Forces, coming down upon the *Danes*, drove them to thir Ships, leaving for haſt all thir Horſes behind them. The ſame year *Alfred* ſent a Fleet toward the *Eaſt-*
Sim. Dun. *Angles*, then inhabited by the *Danes*, which at the mouth of *Stour*, meeting with 16 *Daniſh* Ships, after ſome flight took them all, and ſlew the Souldiers aboard; but in thir way home lying careleſs, were overtak'n by another part of that Fleet, and came off with loſs, whereupon perhaps thoſe *Danes* who were ſettl'd among the *Eaſt-Angles*, erected with new hopes, violated the peace which they had ſworn to

886. *Alfred*, who ſpent the next year in repairing *London*,
Sax. an. (be[illegible]ing, ſaith *Huntingdon*) much ruind and unpeopl'd by the *Danes*; the *Londoners*, all but thoſe who had bin led away Captive, ſoon return'd to
Sim. Dun. thir dwellings, and *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, was by
893. the King appointed thir Governour. But after 13
Sax. an. years reſpite of peace, another *Daniſh* Fleet of 250 Sail, from the *Eaſt* part of *France* arriv'd at the mouth of a River in *Eaſt Kent*, call'd *Limen*, nigh to the great Wood *Andred*, famous for length and bredth; into that Wood they drew up thir Ships four mile from the Rivers mouth, and built a Fortreſs. After whom *Haeſten* with another *Daniſh* Fleet of 80 Ships, entring the mouth of *Thames*, built a Fort at *Middleton*, the former Army remaining at a place call'd

call'd *Apeltre*. *Alfred* perceaving this, took of thoſe *Danes* who dwelt in *Northumberland*, a new Oath of Fidelity, and of thoſe in *Eſſex*, hoſtages, leſt they ſhould joyn, as they were wont, with thir Countrymen newly arriv'd. And by the next year, having got together his Forces, between either Army of the *Danes* encamp'd ſo, as to be ready for either of them, who firſt ſhould happ'n to ſtir forth; Troops of Horſe alſo he ſent continually abroad, aſſiſted by ſuch as could be ſpar'd from ſtrong places, wherever the Countries wanted them, to encounter forageing parties of the Enemy. The King alſo divided ſometimes his whole Army, marching out with one part by turns, the other keeping intrencht. In concluſion rowling up and down, both ſides met at *Farnham* in *Surrey*; where the *Danes* by *Alfreds* Horſe Troops were put to flight, and croſſing the *Thames* to a certain Iland neer *Coln* in *Eſſex*, or as *Camden* thinks, by *Colebrooke*, were beſeig'd there by *Alfred* till proviſion fail'd the the beſeigers, another part ſtaid behind with thir King wounded. Mean while *Alfred* preparing to reinforce the ſeige in *Colney*, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* breaking Faith, came by Sea to the *Eaſt-Angles*, and with a hunderd Ships Coaſting Southward, landed in *Devonſhire*, and beſeig'd *Exeter*; thether *Alfred* haſted with his powers, except a Squadron of *Welch* that came to *London*: with whom the Citizens marching forth to *Beamſtet*, where *Haeſten* the *Dane* had built a ſtrong Fort, and left a Garriſon, while he himſelf with the main of his Army was enterd far into the Country, luckily ſurpriſe the Fort, maiſter the Garriſon, make prey of all they find there; thir Ships alſo they burnt or brought away with good booty, and many Priſners, among whom,

894. *Sax. an.*

the Wife and two Sons of *Heaſten* were ſent to the King, who forthwith ſet them at liberty. Whereupon *Heaſten* gave Oath of Amitie and Hoſtages to the King; he in requital, whether freely, or by agreement, a ſumme of money. Nevertheleſs without regard of Faith giv'n, while *Alfred* was buſied about *Exeter*, joining with the other *Daniſh* Army, he built another Caſtle in *Eſſex* at *Shoberie*, thence marching Weſtward by the *Thames*, aided with *Northumbrian* and *Eaſt-Angliſh Danes*, they came at length to *Severn*, pillaging all in thir way. But, *Ethred*, *Ethelm*, and *Ethelnoth*, the Kings Captains, with united Forces pitch'd nigh to them at *Buttingtun*, on the *Severn* Bank in *Montgomery-ſhire*, the River running between, and there many weeks attended; the King mean while blocking up the *Danes* who beſeig'd *Exeter*, having eat'n part of thir Horſes, the reſt urg'd with hunger broke forth to thir fellows, who lay encamp't on the Eaſt-ſide of the River, and were all there diſcomfitted, with ſome loſs of valiant men on the Kings party; the reſt fled back to *Eſſex* and thir Fortreſs there. Then *Laf*, one of their Leaders, gatherd before Winter a great Army of *Northumbrian* and *Eaſt-Angliſh Danes*, who leaving thir money, Ships, and Wives with the *Eaſt-Angles*, and marching day and night, ſat down before a City in the Weſt call'd *Wirheal* neer to *Cheſter*, and took it ere they could be overtak'n. The Engliſh after two daies ſeige hopeleſs to diſlodge them, waſted the Country round to cut off from them all proviſion, and departed. Soon after which, next year the *Danes* no longer able to hold *Wirheal*, deſtitute of Vittles, enterd *North-Wales*; thence lad'n with ſpoils, part return'd into *Northumberland*, others to the *Eaſt-Angles*

Camden.

895.

Sax. an.

Angles as far as *Eſſex*, where they ſeis'd on a ſmall Iland call'd *Mereſig*. And heer again the Annals record them to beſeige *Exeter*, but without coherence of ſence or ſtory. Others relate to this purpoſe, that returning by Sea from the Seige of *Exeter*, and in thir way landing on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, they of *Cicheſter* ſallied out and ſlew of them many hunderds, taking alſo ſome of thir Ships. The ſame year they who poſſeſs'd *Mereſig*, intending to winter thereabout, drew up thir Ships, ſome into the *Thames*, others into the River *Lee*, and on the Bank therof built a Caſtle twenty miles from *London*; to aſſault which the *Londoners* aided with other Forces march'd out the Summer following, but were ſoon put to flight, looſing fowr of the Kings Captains. *Huntingdon* writes quite the contrary, that theſe fowr were *Daniſh* Captains, and the overthrow theirs: but little credit is to be plac'd in *Huntingdon* ſingle. For the King therupon with his Forces, lay encamp't neerer the City, that the *Danes* might not infeſt them in time of Harveſt; In the mean time, ſubtlely deviſing to turn *Lee* ſtream ſeveral waies; wherby the *Daniſh* Bottoms were left on dry ground: which they ſoon perceaving, march'd over Land to *Quatbrig* on the *Severn*, built a Fortreſs and winterd there; while thir Ships left in *Lee*, were either brok'n or brought away by the *Londoners*; but thir Wives and Children they had left in ſafety with the *Eaſt-Angles*. The next year was peſtilent, and beſides the common ſort took away many great Earls, *Kelmond* in *Kent*, *Brithulf* in *Eſſex*, *Wulfred* in *Hampſhire*, with many others; and to this evill, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-Angles* ceas'd not to endamage the *Weſt-Saxons*, eſpecially by ſtealth,

Sim. Dun. Floren.

896. *Sax. an.*

897. *Sax. an.*

robbing on the South-ſhoar in certain long Gallies. But the King cauſing to be built others twice as long as uſually were built, and ſome of 60 or 70 Oars higher, ſwifter and ſteddier then ſuch as were in uſe before either with *Danes* or *Friſons*, his own invention, ſome of theſe he ſent out againſt ſix *Daniſh* Pirats, who had done much harm in the Ile of *Wight* and parts adjoining. The bickering was doubtfull and intricate, part on the water, part on the Sands; not without loſs of ſome eminent men on the Engliſh ſide. The Pirats at length were either ſlain or tak'n, two of them ſtranded; the men brought to *Wincheſter*, where the King then was, were executed by his command; one of them eſcap'd to the *Eaſt-Angles*, her men much wounded: the ſame year not fewer then twenty of thir Ships periſh'd on the South Coaſt with all thir men. And *Rollo* the *Dane* or *Norman* landing heer, as *Mat. Weſt.* writes, though not in what part of the Iland, after an unſucceſsful fight againſt thoſe Forces which firſt oppos'd him, ſail'd into *France* and conquerd the Country, ſince that time called *Normandy*. This is the ſumme of what paſs'd in three years againſt the *Danes*, returning out of *France*, ſet down ſo perplexly by the *Saxon* Annaliſt, ill-guifted with utterance, as with much ado can be underſtood ſometimes what is ſpok'n, whether meant of the *Danes*, or of the *Saxons*. After which troubleſome time, *Alfred* enjoying three years of peace, by him ſpent, as his manner was, not idlely or voluptuouſly, but in all vertuous emploiments both of mind and body, becoming a Prince of his Renown, ended his daies in the year 900. the 51. of his Age, the 30*th* of his Reign, and was buried regally at *Wincheſter*; he

900. *After.*

was

was born at a place call'd *Wantading* in *Barkshire*, his Mother *Osburga* the Daughter of *Oſlac* the Kings Cup-bearer, a *Goth* by Nation, and of noble deſcent. He was of perſon comlier then all his Brethren, of pleaſing Tongue and gracefull behaviour, ready wit and memory; yet through the fondneſs of his Parents towards him, had not bin taught to read till the twelfth year of his Age; but the great deſire of learning which was in him, ſoon appear'd, by his conning of *Saxon* Poems day and night, which with great attention he heard by others repeated. He was beſides, excellent at Hunting, and the new Art then of Hawking, but more exemplary in devotion, having collected into a Book certain Prayers and Pſalms, which he carried ever with him in his Boſome to uſe on all occaſions. He thirſted after all liberal knowledge, and oft complain'd that in his youth he had no Teachers, in his middle Age ſo little vacancy from Wars and the cares of his Kingdome, yet leaſure he found ſometimes, not only to learn much himſelf, but to communicate therof what he could to his people, by tranſlating Books out of Latin into Engliſh, *Oroſius*, *Boethius*, *Beda*'s Hiſtory and others, permitted none unlern'd to bear Office, either in Court or Common-wealth; at twenty years of age not yet reigning, he took to Wife *Egelswitha* the Daughter of *Ethelred* a *Mercian* Earl. The extremities which befell him in the ſixt of his Reign, *Neothan* Abbot told him, were juſtly come upon him for neglecting in his younger days the complaints of ſuch as injur'd and oppreſs'd repair'd to him, as then ſecond perſon in the Kingdome for redreſs; which neglect were it ſuch indeed, were yet excuſable in a youth, through jollity of mind unwilling

willing perhaps to be detain'd long with ſad and ſorrowfull Narrations; but from the time of his undertaking regal charge, no man more patient in hearing cauſes, more inquiſitive in examining, more exact in doing juſtice, and providing good Laws, which are yet extant; more ſevere in puniſhing unjuſt judges or obſtinate offenders. Theeves eſpecially and Robbers, to the terrour of whom in croſs waies were hung upon a high Poſt certain Chains of Gold, as it were dareing any one to take them thence; ſo that juſtice ſeem'd in his daies not to flouriſh only, but to tryumph: no man then hee more frugal of two pretious things in mans life, his time and his revenue; no man wiſer in the diſpoſal of both. His time, the day, and night, he diſtributed by the burning of certain Tapours into three equall portions: the one was for devotion, the other for publick or private affairs, the third for bodily refreſhment: how each hour paſt, he was put in minde by one who had that Office. His whole annual revenue, which his firſt care was ſhould be juſtly his own, he divided into two equall parts; the firſt he imploi'd to ſecular uſes, and ſubdivided thoſe into three, the firſt to pay his Souldiers, Houſhold-Servants and Guard, of which divided into three Bands, one attended monthly by turn; the ſecond was to pay his Architects and workmen, whom he had got together of ſeveral Nations; for he was alſo an Elegant Builder; above the Cuſtome and conceit of Engliſhmen in thoſe days: the third he had in readineſs to releive or honour Strangers according to thir worth, who came from all parts to ſee him and to live under him. The other equal part of his yearly wealth he dedicated to religious uſes, thoſe of fowr ſorts; the

firſt

firſt to releive the poor, the ſecond to the building and maintenance of two Monaſteries, the third of a School, where he had perſwaded the Sons of many Noblemen to ſtudy ſacred knowledge and liberal Arts, ſome ſay at *Oxford*; the fourth was for the releif of Foreign Churches, as far as *India* to the ſhrine of St. *Thomas*, ſending thether *Sigelm* Biſhop of *Sherburn*, who both return'd ſafe, and brought with him many rich Gems and Spices; guifts alſo and a letter he receav'd from the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, ſent many to *Rome*, and for them receav'd reliques. Thus far, and much more might be ſaid of his noble minde, which renderd him the miror of Princes; his body was diſeas'd in his youth with a great ſoreneſs in the Seige, and that ceaſing of it ſelf, with another inward pain of unknown cauſe, which held him by frequent fits to his dying day; yet not disinabl'd to ſuſtain thoſe many glorious labours of his life both in peace and war. *Malmſ.*

Edward the Elder.

Edward the Son of *Alfred* ſucceeded, in learning not equal, in power and extent of Dominion, ſurpaſſing his Father. The beginning of his Reign had much diſturbance by *Ethelwald* an ambitious young man, Son of the Kings Uncle, or Coſin German, or Brother, for his Genealogy is variouſly deliverd. He vainly avouching to have equal right with *Edward* of ſucceſſion to the Crown, poſſes'd himſelf of *Winburne* in *Dorſet*, and another Town diverſly nam'd, giving out that there he would live or dye; but encompaſs'd with the Kings Forces at *Bad-* *Malmſ.* *Huntingd.* 901. *Sax. an.*

Badburie a place nigh, his heart failing him, he ſtole out by night, and fled to the *Daniſh* Army beyond *Humber*. The King ſent after him, but not overtaking, found his Wife in the Town, whom he had married out of a Nunnery, and commanded her to
902. be ſent back thether. About this time the *Kentiſh* men, againſt a multitude of *Daniſh* Pirats, fought proſperouſly at a place call'd *Holme*, as *Hoveden* records. *Ethelwald* aided by the *Northumbrians* with
905. Shipping, three years after, ſailing to the *Eaſt-Angles*,
Sax. ann. perſwaded the *Danes* there to fall into the Kings Territory, who marching with him as far as *Crecklad*, and paſſing the *Thames*, there waſted as far beyond as they durſt venture, and lad'n with ſpoils return'd home. The King with his powers makeing ſpeed after them, between the *Dike* and *Ouſe*, ſuppos'd to be *Suffolk* and *Cambridge-ſhire*, as far as the Fenns Northward, laid waſt all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanded that all his Army ſhould follow him cloſe without delay; but the *Kentiſh* men, though oft'n call'd upon, lagging behind, the *Daniſh* Army prevented them, and join'd Battel with the King: where Duke *Sigulf* and Earl *Sigelm*, with many other of the Nobles were ſlain; on the *Danes* part, *Eoric* thir King, and *Ethelwald* the Author of this War, with others of high note, and of them greater number, but with great ruin on both ſides; yet the *Danes* kept in thir power the burying of thir ſlain. What ever follow'd upon this con-
907. flict, which we read not, the King two years after
Sax. an. with the *Danes*, both of *Eaſt-Angles*, and *Northumberland* concluded peace, which continu'd three
910. years, by whomſoever brok'n: for at the end there-
Sax. an. of King *Edward* raiſing great Forces out of *Weſt-Sex*,

Sex and *Mercia*, ſent them againſt the *Danes* beyond *Humber*; where ſtaying five weeks, they made great ſpoil and ſlaughter. The King offer'd them terms of peace, but they rejecting all, enterd with the next year into *Mercia*, rendring no leſs hoſtility then they had ſuffer'd; but at *Tetnal* in *Staffordſhire*, ſaith *Florent*, were by the Engliſh in a ſet Battel overthrown. King *Edward* then in *Kent*, had got together of Ships about a hunderd Sail, others gon Southward, came back and met him. The *Danes* now ſuppoſing that his main Forces were upon the Sea, took liberty to rove and plunder up and down, as hope of prey led them, beyond *Severn*. The King gueſſing what might imbold'n them, ſent before him the lighteſt of his Army to entertain them; Then following with the reſt, ſet upon them in thir return over *Cantbrig* in *Gloſterſhire*, and ſlew many thouſands, among whom *Ecwils*, *Haſden*, and *Hinguar* thir Kings, and many other harſh names in *Huntingdon*; the place alſo of this fight is variouſly writt'n by *Ethelwerd* and *Florent*, call'd *Wodensfeild*. The year following *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, to whom *Alfred* had giv'n *London*, with his daughter in marriage; now dying, King *Edward* reſum'd that City, and *Oxford*, with the Countries adjoining, into his own hands, and the year after, built, or much repair'd by his Souldiers, the Town of *Hertford* on either ſide *Lee*, and leaving a ſufficient number at the work, march'd about middle Summer, with the other part of his Forces into *Eſſex*, and encamp'd at *Maldon*, while his Souldiers built *Witham*; where a good part of the Country, ſubject formerly to the *Danes*, yeilded themſelves to his protection. Fowr years after (*Florent* allows but one year) the *Danes* from

911. *Sax. an.*

Ethelwerd.

912. *Sax. an.*

913. *Sax. an.*

917. *Sax. ann.*

Leiſter and *Northampton*, falling into *Oxfordſhire*, committed much rapine, and in ſome Towns therof great ſlaughter; while another party waſting *Hertfordſhire*, met with other Fortune; for the Country-people inur'd now to ſuch kind of incurſions, joining ſtoutly together, fell upon the ſpoilers, recover'd thir own goods, with ſome booty from thir Enemies. About the ſame time *Elfled* the Kings Siſter ſent her Army of *Mercians* into *Wales*, who routed the *Welch*, took the Caſtle of *Bricnam-mere* by *Brecknock*, and brought away the Kings Wife of that Country with other Priſners. Not long after ſhe took *Derby* from the *Danes*, and the Caſtle by a ſharp aſſault. But the year enſueing brought a new Fleet of *Danes* to *Lidwic* in *Devonſhire*, under two Leaders, *Otter* and *Roald*; who ſailing thence Weſtward about the lands end, came up to the mouth of *Severn*; there landing waſted the *Welch* Coaſt, and *Irchenfeild* part of *Hereſordſhire*; where they took *Kuneleac* a *Britiſh* Biſhop, for whoſe ranſome King *Edward* gave forty pound, but the men of *Hereford* and *Gloſterſhire* aſſembling, put them to flight; ſlaying *Roald* and the Brother of *Otter*, with many more, perſu'd them to a Wood, and there beſet, compel'd them to give hoſtages of preſent departure. The King with his Army ſat not far off, ſecuring from the South of *Severn* to *Avon*; ſo that op'nly they durſt not, by night they twice ventur'd to land; but found ſuch welcome, that few of them came back; the reſt anchord by a ſmall Iland where many of them famiſh'd; then ſailing to a place call'd *Deomed*, they croſs'd into *Ireland*. The King with his Army went to *Buckingham*, ſtaid there a moneth, and built two Caſtles or Forts on either Bank of *Ouſe*

Huntingd. *Camd.*

918. *Sax. an.*

ere

ere his departing, and *Turkitel* a *Daniſh* Leader, with thoſe of *Bedford* and *Northampton*, yeilded him ſubjection. Wherupon the next year he came with his Army to the Town of *Bedford*, took poſſeſſion therof, ſtaid there a month, and gave order to build another part of the Town, on the South-ſide of *Ouſe*. Thence the year following went again to *Maldon*, repair'd and fortifi'd the Town. *Turkitel* the *Dane* having ſmall hope to thrive heer, where things with ſuch prudence were mannag'd againſt his intereſs, got leave of the King, with as many voluntaries as would follow him, to paſs into *France*. Early the next year King *Edward* re-edifi'd *Tovecheſter*, now *Torcheſter*; and another City in the Annals call'd *Wigingmere*. Mean while the *Danes* of *Leiſter* and *Northampton-ſhire*; not likeing perhaps to be neighbour'd with Strong Towns, laid Seige to *Torcheſter*; [but they within repelling the aſſault one whole day till ſupplies came] quitted the Seige by night; and perſu'd cloſe by the beſeig'd, between *Birnwud* and *Ailsbury* were ſurpris'd, many of them made Priſners, and much of thir bagage loſt. Other of the *Danes* at *Huntingdon*, aided from the *Eaſt-Angles*, finding that Caſtle not commodious, left it, and built another at *Temsford*, judging that place more opportune from whence to make thir excurſions; and ſoon after went forth with deſign to aſſail *Bedford*: but the Garriſon iſſuing out, ſlew a great part of them, the reſt fled. After this a greater Army of them gatherd out of *Mercia* and the *Eaſt-Angles*, came and beſeig'd the City call'd *Wigingmere* a whole Day; but finding it defended ſtoutly by them within, thence alſo departed, driving away much of thir Cattel: wher-

919. *Sax. an.*

920. *Sax. an.*

921. *Sax. an.*

upon the Engliſh from Towns and Citties round about joining Forces, laid Seige to the Town and Caſtle of *Temsford*, and by aſſault took both; ſlew thir King with *Toglea* a Duke, and *Mannan* his Son an Earl, with all the reſt there found; who choſe to die rather then yeild. Encourag'd by this, the men of *Kent*, *Surrey*, and part of *Eſſex*, enterpriſe the Seige of *Colcheſter*, nor gave over till they won it, ſacking the Town and putting to Sword all the *Danes* therein, except ſome who eſcap'd over the Wall. To the ſuccour of theſe, a great number of *Danes* inhabiting Ports and other Towns in the *Eaſt-Angles*, united thir Force; but coming too late, as in revenge beleaguerd *Maldon*; but that Town alſo timely releiv'd, they departed, not only fruſtrate of thir deſign, but ſo hotly perſu'd, that many thouſands of them loſt thir lives in the flight. Forthwith King *Edward* with his *Weſt-Saxons* went to *Paſsham* upon *Ouſe*, there to guard the paſſage, while others were building a ſtone Wall about *Torcheſter*; to him there Earl *Thurfert*, and other Lord *Danes*, with thir Army thereabout as far as *Weolud*, came and ſubmitted. Wherat the Kings Souldiers joyfully cry'd out to be diſmiſs't home: therfore with another part of them he enterd *Huntingdon*, and repair'd it, where breaches had bin made; all the people thereabout returning to obedience. The like was done at *Colncheſter* by the next remove of his Army, after which both *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Angles*, and the *Daniſh* Forces among them, yeilded to the King, ſwearing Allegiance to him both by Sea and Land: the Army alſo of *Danes* at *Granthrig*, ſurrendring themſelves took the ſame Oath. The Summer following he came with his Army to *Stamford*, built

922. *Sax. an.*

built a Caſtle there on the South-ſide of the River, where all the people of thoſe quarters acknowledg'd him ſupream. Dureing his abode there, *Elfled* his Siſter a martial Woman, who after her Huſbands Death would no more marry, but gave her ſelf to public affairs, repairing and fortifying many Towns, warring ſometimes, dy'd at *Tamworth* the Cheif Seat of *Mercia*, wherof by guift of *Alfred* her Father, ſhe was Lady or Queen; wherby that whole Nation became obedient to King *Edward*, as did alſo *North-Wales* with *Howel*, *Cledaucus*, and *Jeothwell* thir Kings. Thence paſſing to *Nottingham*, he enterd and repair'd the Town, plac'd there part Engliſh, part *Danes*, and receav'd fealty from all in *Mercia* of either Nation. The next Autumn, coming with his Army into *Cheſhire*, he built and fortifi'd *Thelwel*; and while he ſtaid there, call'd another Army out of *Mercia*, which he ſent to repair and fortifie *Mancheſter*. About Midſummer following he march'd again to *Nottingham*, built a Town over againſt it on the South-ſide of that River, and with a Bridg joyn'd them both; thence journied to a place call'd *Bedecanwillan* in *Pictland*; there alſo built and fenc'd a City on the Borders, where the King of *Scots* did him honour as to his Sovran, together with the whole *Scotiſh* Nation; the like did *Reginald* and the Son of *Eadulf*, *Daniſh* Princes, with all the *Northumbrians*, both Engliſh, and *Danes*. The King alſo of a people thereabout call'd *Streatgledwalli* (the *North Welch*, as *Camden* thinks, of *Strat-Cluid* in *Denbigh-ſhire*, perhaps rather the *Britiſh* of *Cumberland*) did him homage, and not undeſerv'd. For *Buchanan* himſelf confeſſes, that this King *Edward* with a ſmall number of men compar'd to his

923. *Sax. an.*

924. *Sax. an.*

Buch. l. 6.

Enemies,

Enemies, overthrew in a great Battel, the whole united power both of *Scots* and *Danes*, ſlew moſt of the *Scotiſh* Nobility, and forc'd *Malcolmb*, whom *Conſtantine* the *Scotch* King had made General, and deſign'd Heir of his Crown, to ſave himſelf by flight ſore wounded. Of the Engliſh, he makes *Athelſtan* the Son of *Edward* Chief Leader; and ſo far ſeems to confound times and actions, as to make this Battel the ſame with that fought by *Athelſtan*, about 24 years after at *Bruneford*, againſt *Anlaf* and *Conſtantine*, wherof hereafter. But here *Buchanan* takes occaſion to inveigh againſt the Engliſh Writers, upbraiding them with ignorance, who affirm *Buch. L. 6.* *Athelſtan* to have bin ſupream King of *Britain*, *Conſtantine* the *Scotiſh* King with others to have held of him: and denies that in the Annals of *Marianus Scotus*, any mention is to be found therof; which I ſhall not ſtand much to contradict, for in *Marianus*, whether by Surname or by Nation *Scotus*, will be found as little mention of any other *Scotiſh* affairs, till the time of King *Dunchad* ſlain by *Machetad*, or *Mackbeth*, in the year 1040. which gives cauſe of ſuſpition, that the affairs of *Scotland* before that time were ſo obſcure as to be unknown to thir own Countryman, who liv'd and wrote his Chronicle not long after. But King *Edward* thus nobly doing, and thus honour'd, the year following dy'd at *Farendon*; a builder and reſtorer eev'n in War, not a deſtroyer of his Land. He had by ſeveral Wives many Childern; his eldeſt Daughter *Edgith* he gave in marriage to *Charles* King of *France*, Grand-Child of *Charles* the *Bald* above-mention'd; of the reſt in place convenient. His Laws are yet to be ſeen. He was buried at *Wincheſter*, in the Monaſtery by

925. *Sax. an.* *Huntingd.* *Mat Weſt.*

Alfred

Alfred his Father. And a few days after him dy'd *Ethelwerd* his Eldeſt Son, the Heir of his Crown. He had the whole Iland in ſubjection, yet ſo as petty Kings reign'd under him. In *Northumberland*, after *Ecbert* whom the *Danes* had ſet up, and the *Northumbrians* yet unruly under thir yoke, at the end of 6 years had expell'd, one *Richig* was ſet up King, and bore the name 3 years; then another *Ecbert*, and *Guthred*; the latter, if we beleeve Legends, of a Servant made King by command of St. *Cudbert*, in a Viſion; and enjoyn'd by another Viſion of the ſame Saint, to pay well for his Royalty many Lands and privileges to his Church and Monaſtery. But now to the ſtory. *Sim. Dun.*

Athelſtan.

Athelſtan next in Age to *Ethelward* his Brother, who deceas'd untimely few days before, though born of a Concubine, yet for the great appearance of many vertues in him, and his Brethren being yet under Age, was exalted to the Throne, at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, and by his Fathers laſt Will, ſaith *Malmsbury*, yet not without ſome oppoſition of one *Alfred* and his Accomplices; who not likeing he ſhould reign, had conſpir'd to ſeiſe on him after his Fathers Death, and to put out his Eyes. But the Conſpiratours diſcoverd, and *Alfred* denying the Plot, was ſent to *Rome*, to aſſert his innocence before the Pope; where taking his Oath on the Altar, he fell down immediatly, and carried out by his Servants, three daies after dy'd. Mean while beyond *Humber*, the *Danes*, though much aw'd were not idle. *Ingvald* one of thir Kings took poſſeſſion of *Yorke*, 926. *Malmſ.* *Sim. Dun.*

Yorke, *Sitric* who ſome years before had ſlain *Niel* his Brother, by force took *Davenport* in *Cheſhire*; and however he defended theſe doings; grew ſo conſi-
Malmſ. derable, that *Athelſtan* with great ſolemnity gave
Mat. Weſt. him his Siſter *Edgith* to Wife: but he enjoy'd her not long, dying ere the years end, nor his Sons *Anlaf* and *Cuthfert* the Kingdome, driv'n out the next
927. *Sax. an.* year by *Athelſtan*; not unjuſtly ſaith *Huntingdon*, as being firſt raiſers of the War. *Simeon* calls him *Gudfrid* a *Britiſh* King, whom *Athelſtan* this year drove out of his Kingdome; and perhaps they were both one, the name and time not much differing, the place only miſtak'n. *Malmsbury* differs in the name alſo, calling him *Aldulf* a certain Rebel. Them alſo I wiſh as much miſtak'n, who write that *Athelſtan*, jealous of his younger Brother *Edwin's* towardly vertues, leaſt added to the right of Birth, they
933. might ſome time or other call in queſtion his illegiti-
Sim. Dun. mate precedence, caus'd him to be drown'd in the Sea; expos'd, ſome ſay, with one Servant in a rott'n Bark, without Sail or Oar; where the youth far off land, and in rough weather deſpairing, threw himſelf over-board; the Servant more patient, got to land and reported the ſucceſs. But this *Malmsbury* confeſſes to be ſung in old Songs, not read in warrantable Authors: and *Huntingdon* ſpeaks as of a ſad accident to *Athelſtan*, that he loſt his Brother *Edwin* by Sea; far the more credible, in that *Athelſtan*, as is writ'n by all, tenderly lov'd and bred up the reſt of his Brethren, of whom he had no leſs cauſe to be
934. jealous. And the year following he proſperd bet-
Sax. an. ter then from ſo foul a fact, paſſing into *Scotland* with
Sim. Dun. great Puiſſance, both by Sea and Land, and chaceing his Enemies before him, by Land as far as *Dunfeoder*,

ſeoder, and *Wertermore*, by Sea as far as *Cathneſs*. The cauſe of this expedition, ſaith *Malmsbury*, was to demand *Gudfert* the Son of *Sitric*, thether fled, though not deny'd at length by *Conſtantine*, who with *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, at a place call'd *Dacor* or *Dacre* in that Shire, ſurrenderd himſelf and each his Kingdome to *Athelſtan*, who brought back with him for hoſtage the Son of *Conſtantine*. But *Gudfert* eſcaping in the mean while out of *Scotland*, and *Conſtantine* exaſperated by this invaſion, perſwaded *Anlaf* the other Son of *Sitric* then fled into *Ireland*, others write *Anlaf* King of *Ireland* and the *Iles*, his Son in law, with 615 Ships, and the King of *Cumberland* with other forces, to his aid. This within fowr years effected, they enterd *England* by *Humber*, and fought with *Athelſtan* at a place call'd *Wendune*, others term it *Brunanburg*, others *Bruneford*, which *Ingulf* places beyond *Humber*, *Camden* in *Glendale* of *Northumberland* on the *Scotch* Borders; the bloodieſt fight, ſay Authors, that ever this Iland ſaw, to deſcribe which, the *Saxon* Annaliſt wont to be ſober and ſuccinct, whether the ſame or another writer, now labouring under the weight of his Argument, and over-charg'd, runs on a ſudden into ſuch extravagant fanſies and metaphors, as bare him quite beſide the ſcope of being underſtood. *Huntingdon*, though himſelf peccant enough in his kind, tranſcribes him word for word as a paſtime to his Readers. I ſhall only ſumme up what of him I can attain, in uſuall language. The Battel was fought eagerly from morning till night; ſome fell of King *Edwards* old Army, try'd in many a Battel before; but on the other ſide great multitudes, the reſt fled to thir Ships. Five Kings, and 7 of *Anlafs* Chief Captains were ſlain on the place, with *Froda* a

Florent.

Florent.
Sim. Dun. 938.
Sax. an.
Malmſ.

Norman Leader; *Conſtantine* eſcap'd home, but loſt his Son in the fight, if I underſtand my Author; *Anlaf* by Sea to *Dublin*, with a ſmall remainder of his great hoaſt. *Malmsbury* relates this War, adding many circumſtances after this manner. That *Anlaf* joining with *Conſtantine* and the whole power of *Scotland*, beſides thoſe which he brought with him out of *Ireland*, came on far Southwards, till *Athelſtan* who had retir'd on ſet purpoſe to be the ſurer of his Enimies, enclos'd from all ſuccour and retreat, met him at *Bruneford*. *Anlaf* perceaving the valour and reſolution of *Athelſtan*, and miſtruſting his own Forces though numerous, reſolv'd firſt to ſpie in what poſture his Enemies lay: and imitating perhaps what he heard attempted by King *Alfred* the Age before, in the habit of a Muſitian, got acceſs by his lute and voice to the Kings tent, there playing both the minſtrel and the ſpie: then towards Evening diſmis't, he was obſerv'd by one who had bin his Souldier and well knew him, veiwing earneſtly the Kings Tent, and what approaches lay about it, then in the twilight to depart. The Souldier forthwith acquaints the King, and by him blam'd for letting go his Enemy, anſwerd, that he had giv'n firſt his military Oath to *Anlaf*, whom if he had betrai'd, the King might ſuſpect him of like treaſonous minde towards himſelf; which to diſprove, he advis'd him to remove his Tent a good diſtance off; and ſo don, it happ'nd that a Biſhop with his retinue coming that night to the Army, pich'd his Tent in the ſame place, from whence the King had remov'd. *Anlaf* coming by night as he had deſign'd, to aſſault the Camp and eſpecially the Kings Tent, finding there the Biſhop in ſtead, flew him with all his followers. *Athelſtan* took the

Allarm,

Allarm, and as it ſeems, was not found ſo unprovided, but that the day now appearing, he put his men in order, and maintain'd the fight till Evening; wherin *Conſtantine* himſelf was ſlain with five other Kings, and twelve Earls, the Annals were content with ſeav'n, in the reſt not diſagreeing. *Ingulf* Abbot of *Croyland* from the autority of *Turketul* a principal Leader in this Battel, relates it more at large to this effect: that *Athelſtan* above a mile diſtant from the place where execution was done upon the Biſhop and his ſupplies, allarm'd at the noiſe, came down by break of day, upon *Anlaf* and his Army, overwatch't and wearied now with the ſlaughter they had made, and ſomething out of order, yet in two main Battels. The King therfore in like manner dividing, led the one part conſiſting moſt of *Weſt Saxons*, againſt *Anlaf* with his *Danes* and *Iriſh*, committing the other to his Chancellor *Turketul*, with the *Mercians* and *Londoners* againſt *Conſtantine* and his *Scots*. The ſhowr of Arrows and Darts over-paſs't, both Battells attack'd each other with a cloſe and terrible ingagement, for a long ſpace neither ſide giving ground. Till the Chancellor *Turketul*, a man of great ſtature and ſtrength, taking with him a few *Londoners* of ſelect valour, and *Singin* who led the *Worſterſhire* men, a Captain of undaunted courage, broke into the thickeſt, making his way firſt through the *Picts* and *Orkeners*, then through the *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, and came at length where *Conſtantine* himſelf fought, unhors'd him, and us'd all means to take him alive; but the *Scots* valiantly defending thir King, and laying load upon *Turketul*, which the goodneſs of his Armour well endur'd, he had yet bin beat'n down, had not *Singin* his faithfull ſecond at

the ſame time ſlain *Conſtantine*; which once known, *Anlaf* and the whole Army betook them to flight, wherof a huge multitude fell by the Sword. This *Turketul* not long after leaving worldly affairs, became Abbot of *Croyland*, which at his own coſt he had repair'd, from *Daniſh* ruins, and left there this memorial of his former actions. *Athelſtan* with his Brother *Edmund* victorious, thence turning into *Wales*, with much more eaſe vanquiſh'd *Ludwal* the King, and poſſeſt his land. But *Malmsbury* writes, that commiſerating human chance, as he diſplac'd, ſo he reſtor'd both him and *Conſtantine* to thir Regal State; for the ſurrender of King *Conſtantine* hath bin above ſpok'n of. However the *Welch* did him homage at the City of *Hereford*, and covnanted yearly payment of Gold 20 pound, of Silver 300, of *Oxen* 25 thouſand, beſides Hunting Dogs and Hawks. He alſo took *Exeter* from the *Corniſh Britans*, who till that time had equal right there with the Engliſh, and bounded them with the River *Tamar*, as the other *Brittiſh* with *Wey*. Thus dreaded of his Enemies, and renown'd far and neer, three years after he dy'd at *Gloſter*, and was buried with many Trophies at *Malmsbury*, where he had caus'd to be laid his two Coſin Germans, *Elwin* and *Ethelſtan*, both ſlain in the Battel againſt *Anlaf*. He was 30 years old at his coming to the Crown, mature in wiſedom from his Childhood, comly of perſon and behaviour; ſo that *Alfred* his Grandfather in bleſſing him was wont to pray he might live to have the Kingdome, and put him yet a Child into Souldiers habit. He had his breeding in the Court of *Elfled* his Aunt, of whoſe vertues more then female we have related, ſufficient to evince that his mo-

941. *Sax. an. Malmſ. Ingulf.*

ther,

ther, though ſaid to be no wedded Wife, was yet ſuch of parentage and worth, as the Royal line diſdain'd not, though the Song went in *Malmsburies* daies (for it ſeems he refus'd not the autority of Ballats for want of better) that his mother was a Farmers Daughter, but of excellent feature; who dreamt one night ſhe brought forth a Moon that ſhould enlight'n the whole land: which the Kings Nurſe hearing of, took her home and bred up Courtly; that the King coming one day to viſit his Nurſe, ſaw there this Damſel, lik'd her, and by earneſt ſuit prevailing, had by her this famous *Athelſtan*, a bounteous, juſt and affable King, as *Malmſbury* ſets him forth; nor leſs honour'd abroad by Foren Kings, who ſought his Friendſhip by great guifts or affinity; that *Harold* King of *Noricum* ſent him a Ship, whoſe Prow was of gold, ſails purple, and other golden things, the more to be wonderd at, ſent from *Noricum*, whether meant *Norway* or *Bavaria*, the one place ſo far from ſuch ſuperfluity of wealth, the other from all Sea: the Embaſſadors were *Helgrim* and *Offrid*, who found the King at *Yorke*. His Siſters he gave in marriage to greateſt Princes, *Elgif* to *Otho* Son of *Henry* the Emperour, *Egdith* to a certain Duke about the *Alpes*, *Edgiv* to *Ludwic* King of *Aquitain*, ſprung of *Charles* the Great, *Ethilda* to *Hugo* King of *France*, who ſent *Aldulf* Son of *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, to obtain her. From all theſe great ſuitors, eſpecially from the Emperour and King of *France*, came rich preſents, Horſes of excellent Breed, gorgeous Trappings and Armour, Reliques, Jewels, Odors, Veſſels of *Onyx*, and other pretious things, which I leave poetically deſcrib'd in *Malmsbury*, tak'n, as he confeſſes,

feſſes, out of an old verſifier, ſome of whoſe verſes he recites. The only blemiſh left upon him, was the expoſing of his Brother *Edwin*, who diſavow'd by Oath the treaſon wherof he was accus'd, and implor'd an equall hearing. But theſe were Songs, as before hath bin ſaid, which add alſo that *Athelſtan*, his anger over, ſoon repented of the fact, and put to Death his Cup-bearer, who had induc't him to ſuſpect and expoſe his Brother, put in mind by a word falling from the Cup-bearers own mouth, who ſlipping one day as he bore the Kings Cup, and recovring himſelf on the other leg, ſaid aloud, fatally as to him it prov'd, one Brother helps the other. Which words the King laying to heart, and pondring how ill he had done to make away his Brother, aveng'd himſelf firſt on the adviſer of that fact, took on him ſeav'n years penance, and as *Mat. Weſt.* ſaith, built two Monaſteries for the Soul of his Brother. His Laws are extant among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings to this day.

Edmund.

942. *Sax. an.* EDmund not above 18 years old ſucceeded his Brother *Athelſtan*, in courage not inferiour. For in the ſecond of his Reign he free'd *Mercia* of the *Danes* that remain'd there, and took from them the Cities of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stamford*, *Darby*, and *Leiſter*, where they were plac'd by King *Edward*, but it ſeems gave not good proof of thir fidelity. *Simeon* writes that *Anlaf* ſetting forth from *Yorke*, and having waſted Southward as far as *Northampton*, was met by *Edmund* at *Leiſter*; but that ere the Battails

Battails join'd, peace was made between them by *Odo* and *Wulſtan* the two Archbiſhops, with converſion of *Anlaf*; for the ſame year *Edmund* receav'd at the Font-ſtone this or another *Anlaf*, as ſaith *Huntingdon*, not him ſpok'n of before, who dy'd this year (ſo uncertain they are in the ſtory of theſe times alſo) and held *Reginald* another King of the *Northumbers*, while the Biſhop confirm'd him: thir limits were divided North and South by *Watling-ſtreet*. But ſpirituall kindred little avail'd to keep peace between them, whoever gave the cauſe; for we read him two years after driving *Anlaf* (whom the Annals now firſt call the Son of *Sitric*) and *Suthfrid* Son of *Reginald* out of *Northumberland*, takeing the whole Country into ſubjection. *Edmund* the next year harras'd *Cumberland*, then gave it to *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, thereby bound to aſſiſt him in his Wars, both by Sea and Land; *Mat. Weſt.* adds that in this action *Edmund* had the aid of *Leolin* Prince of *Northwales*, againſt *Dunmail* the *Cumbrian* King, him depriving of his Kingdome, and his two Sons of thir ſight. But the year after he himſelf by ſtrange accident came to an untimely Death, feaſting with his Nobles on St. *Auſtins* Day at *Pucklekerke* in *Gloſterſhire*, to celebrat the memory of his firſt converting the *Saxons*. He ſpi'd *Leof* a noted Theef, whom he had baniſh'd, ſitting among his Gueſts; wherat tranſported with too much vehemence of Spirit, though in a juſt cauſe, riſeing from the Table he ran upon the Theef, and catching his hair, pull'd him to the ground. The Theef who doubted from ſuch handling no leſs then his Death intended, thought to die not unreveng'd; and with a ſhort Dagger ſtrook the King, who ſtill laid at him,

944. *Sax. an.*

945. *Sax. an.*

946. *Sax. an. Camden.*

him, and little expected ſuch aſſaſſination, mortally into the breſt. The matter was done in a moment, ere men ſet at Table could turn them, or imagin at firſt what the ſtir meant, till perceaving the King deadly wounded, they flew upon the murderer and hew'd him to peeces; who like a wild Beaſt at abbay, ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded, deſperatly laid about him, wounding ſome in his fall. The King was buried at *Glaſton*, wherof *Dunſtan* was then Abbot, his Laws yet remain to be ſeen among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings.

Edred.

Edred the third Brother of *Athelſtan*, the Sons of *Edmund* being yet but Childern, next reign'd, not degenerating from his worthy predeceſſors, and Crown'd at *Kingſton*. *Northumberland* he throughly ſubdu'd, the *Scots* without refuſal ſwore him Allegiance; yet the *Northumbrians*, ever of doubtfull Faith, ſoon after choſe to themſelves one *Eric* a *Dane*. *Huntingdon* ſtill haunts us with this *Anlaf* (of whom we gladly would have bin ridd) and will have him before *Eric* recall'd once more and reign fowr years, then again put to his ſhifts. But *Edred* entring into *Northumberland*, and with ſpoils returning, *Eric* the King fell upon his rear. *Edred* turning about, both ſhook off the Enemy, and prepar'd to make a ſecond inroad: which the *Northumbrians* dreading rejected *Eric*, ſlew *Amancus* the Son of *Anlaf*, and with many preſents appeaſing *Edred*, ſubmitted again to his Goverment; nor from that time had Kings, but were govern'd by Earls, of whom

950. *Sim. Dun.*

Hoved.

whom *Oſulf* was the firſt. About this time *Wulſtan* Archbiſhop of *York*, accus'd to have ſlain certain men of *Thetford* in revenge of thir Abbot whom the Townſmen had ſlain, was committed by the King to cloſe Cuſtody; but ſoon after enlarg'd, was reſtor'd to his place. *Malmsbury* writes that his crime was to have conniv'd at the revolt of his Countrymen: but King *Edred* two years after ſick'ning in the flowr of his youth, dy'd much lamented, and was buried at *Wincheſter*. 955. *Sim. Dun.*

Edwi.

EDwi the Son of *Edmund* now come to Age, after his Uncle *Edred*'s Death took on him the Goverment, and was Crown'd at *Kingſton*. His lovely perſon ſirnam'd him the Fair, his actions are diverſly reported, by *Huntingdon* not thought illaudable. But *Malmsbury* and ſuch as follow him write far otherwiſe, that he married or kept as Concubine, his neer Kinſwoman, ſome ſay both her and her Daughter; ſo inordinatly giv'n to his pleaſure, that on the very day of his Coronation, he abruptly withdrew himſelf from the Company of his Peers, whether in Banquet or Conſultation, to ſit wantoning in the Chamber with this *Algiva*, ſo was her name, who had ſuch power over him. Wherat his Barons offended, ſent Biſhop *Dunſtan*, the boldeſt among them, to requeſt his return: he going to the Chamber, not only interrupted his dalliance and rebuk'd the Lady, but takeing him by the hand, between force and perſuaſion brought him back to his Nobles. The King highly diſpleas'd, and inſtigated perhaps by her who was ſo prevalent with him, not long after *Ethelward.* *Mat. Weſt.* 956.

ſent *Dunſtan* into baniſhment, caus'd his Monaſtery to be riſl'd, and became an Enemy to all Monks. Wherupon *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* pronounc't a ſeparation or divorce of the King from *Algiva*. But that which moſt incited *William* of *Malmsbury* againſt him, he gave that Monaſtery to be dwelt in by ſecular Preiſts, or, to uſe his own phraſe, made it a ſtable of Clerks; at length theſe affronts done to the Church were ſo reſented by the people, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and ſet up *Edgar* his Brother, leaving to *Edwi* the *Weſt-Saxons* only, bounded by the River *Thames*; with greif wherof, as is thought, he ſoon after ended his daies, and was buried at *Wincheſter*. Mean while *Elſin* Biſhop of that place after the Death of *Odo*, aſcending by Simony to the Chair of *Canterbury*, and going to *Rome* the ſame year for his Pall, was froz'n to Death in the *Alps*.

Hoved. 957. *Sax. an.* 958. *Mat. Weſt.*

Edgar.

959. *Malmſ.* EDgar by his Brothers Death now King of all *England* at 16 years of Age, call'd home *Dunſtan* out of *Flanders*, where he liv'd in exile. This King had no War all his Reign; yet allways well prepar'd for War, govern'd the Kingdom in great Peace, Honour, and Proſperity, gaining thence the Sirname of Peaceable, much extoll'd for Juſtice, Clemency, and all Kingly Vertues, the more, ye may be ſure, by Monks, for his building ſo many Monaſteries; as ſome write, every year one: for he much favour'd the Monks againſt ſecular Preiſts, who in the time of *Edwi* had got poſſeſſion in moſt of

Mat. Weſt.

of thir Covents. His care and wiſdome was great in guarding the Coaſt round with ſtout ſhips, to the number of 3600, *Mat. Weſt.* reck'ns them 4800, divided into fowr Squadrons, to ſail to and fro on the fowr quarters of the land, meeting each other; the firſt of 1200 ſail from Eaſt to Weſt, the ſecond of as many from Weſt to Eaſt, the third and fowrth between North and South, himſelf in the Summer time with his Fleet. Thus he kept out wiſely the force of Strangers, and prevented Forein War; but by thir too frequent reſort hither in time of peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in thir vices unaware. Thence the people, ſaith *Malmsbury*, learnt of the out-landiſh *Saxons* rudeneſs, of the *Flemiſh* daintineſs and ſoftneſs; of the *Danes* Drunk'neſs; though I doubt theſe vices are as naturally homebred heer as in any of thoſe Countries. Yet in the Winter and Spring time he uſually rode the Circuit as a Judge Itinerant through all his Provinces, to ſee juſtice well adminiſterd, and the poor not oppreſs'd. Theeves and Robbers he rooted almoſt out of the Land, and wild Beaſts of prey altogether; enjoining *Ludwal* King of *Wales* to pay the yearly tribute of 300 Wolves, which he did for two years together, till the third year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his Laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the cauſe he was not Crown'd till the 30. of his Age, but then with great ſplendor and magnificence at the City of *Bath*, in the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*. This year dy'd *Swarling* a Monk of *Croyland*, the 142. year of his Age, and another ſoon after him in the 115*th.* in the Fenn and watriſh air, the more remarkable. King *Edgar* the next year went to *Cheſter*, and ſummoning to

973. *Sax. an.* *Ingulf.*

974. *Sax. an.*

his Court there all the Kings that held of him, took homage of them: thir names are *Kened* King of *Scots*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland*, *Mucuſe* of the Iles, five of *Wales*, *Duſwal*, *Huwal*, *Griſith*, *Jacob*, *Judethil*, theſe he had in ſuch aw, that going one day into a Gally, he caus'd them to take each man his Oar, and row him down the River *Dee*, while he himſelf ſat at the Stern: which might be done in meriment and eaſily obei'd; if with a ſerious brow, diſcoverd rather vain glory and inſulting haughtineſs, then moderation of mind. And that he did it ſeriouſly tryumphing, appears by his words then utterd, that his ſucceſſors might then glory to be Kings of *England*, when they had ſuch honour done them. And perhaps the Divine power was diſpleas'd with him for taking too much honour to himſelf;
975. ſince we read that the year following he was tak'n out of this life by ſickneſs in the highth of his glory and the prime of his Age, buried at *Glaſton* Abby. The ſame year, as *Mat. Weſt.* relates, he gave to *Kened* the *Scottiſh* King, many rich preſents, and the whole Country of *Laudian*, or *Lothien*, to hold of him on condition that he and his ſucceſſors ſhould repair to the Engliſh Court at high Feſtivals when the King ſat Crown'd, gave him alſo many lodging places by the way, which till the days of *Henry* the ſecond were ſtill held by the Kings of *Scotland*. He was of Stature not tall, of body ſlender, yet ſo well made, that in ſtrength he choſe to contend with ſuch as were thought ſtrongeſt, and diſlik'd nothing more then that they ſhould ſpare him for reſpect or fear to hurt him. *Kened* King of *Scots* then in the Court of *Edgar*, ſitting one day at Table was heard to ſay jeſtingly among his Servants, he wonderd

wonderd how ſo many Provinces could be held in ſubjection by ſuch a little dapper man: his words were brought to the Kings Ear; he ſends for *Kened* as about ſome private buſineſs, and in talk drawing him forth to a ſecret place, takes from under his garment two Swords which he had brought with him, gave one of them to *Kened*; and now ſaith he, it ſhall be try'd which ought to be the ſubject; for it is ſhamefull for a King to boaſt at Table, and ſhrink in fight. *Kened* much abaſh'd fell preſently at his Feet, and beſought him to pardon what he had ſimply ſpok'n, no way intended to his diſhonour or diſparagement: wherewith the King was ſatisfi'd. *Camden* in his deſcription of *Ireland*, cites a Charter of King *Edgar*, wherin it appears, he had in ſubjection all the Kingdomes of the Iles as far as *Norway*, and had ſubdu'd the greateſt part of *Ireland* with the City of *Dublin*: but of this other Writers make no mention. In his youth having heard of *Elfrida*, Daughter to *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonſhire*, much commended for her Beauty, he ſent Earl *Athelwold*, whoſe loyalty he truſted moſt, to ſee her; intending, if ſhe were found ſuch as anſwerd report, to demand her in marriage. He at the firſt view tak'n with her preſence, diſloyally, as it oft happ'ns in ſuch emploiments, began to ſue for himſelf; and with conſent of her Parents obtain'd her. Returning therfore with ſcarſe an ordinary commendation of her Feature, he eaſily took off the Kings mind, ſoon diverted another way. But the matter coming to light how *Athelwold* had foreſtall'd the King, and *Elfrida*'s Beauty more and more ſpok'n of, the King now heated not only with a relapſe of Love, but with a deep ſence of the abuſe, yet diſſembling his diſturbance, pleaſantly

told

told the Earl, what day he meant to come and viſit him and his fair Wife. The Earl ſeemingly aſſur'd his welcome, but in the mean while acquainting his Wife, earneſtly advis'd her to deform her ſelf, what ſhe might, either in dreſs or otherwiſe, leſt the King, whoſe amorous inclination was not unknown, ſhould chance to be attracted. She who by this time was not ignorant, how *Athelwold* had ſtepd between her and the King, againſt his coming arraies her ſelf richly, uſeing whatever art ſhe could deviſe might render her the more amiable; and it took effect. For the King inflam'd with her love the more for that he had bin ſo long defrauded and rob'd of her, reſolv'd not only to recover his intercepted right, but to puniſh the interloper of his deſtind ſpouſe, and appointing with him as was uſual, a day of hunting, drawn aſide in a Foreſt, now call'd *Harewood*, ſmote him through with a Dart. Some cenſure this act as cruel and tyrannical, but conſiderd well, it may be judg'd more favourably, and that no man of ſenſible Spirit but in his place, without extraordinary perfection, would have done the like: for next to life what worſe treaſon could have bin committed againſt him? it chanc'd that the Earls baſe Son coming by upon the fact, the King ſternly aſk'd him how he lik'd this Game; he ſubmiſly anſwering, that whatſoever pleas'd the King, muſt not diſpleaſe him; the King return'd to his wonted temper, took an affection to the youth, and ever after highly favour'd him, making amends in the Son for what he had done to the Father. *Elfrida* forthwith he took to Wife, who to expiate her former Huſbands Death, though therin ſhe had no hand, coverd the place of his bloodſhed with a Monaſtery of Nuns to ſing over him. Another

ther fault is laid to his charge, no way excuſable, that he took a Virgin *Wilfrida* by force out of the Nunnery, where ſhe was plac'd by her friends to avoid his perſuit, and kept her as his Concubine; but liv'd not obſtinatly in the offence; for ſharply reprov'd by *Dunſtan* he ſubmitted to 7 years penance, and for that time to want his Coronation: But why he had it not before, is left unwritt'n. Another ſtory there goes of *Edgar*, fitter for a Novel then a Hiſtory; but as I find it in *Malmsbury*, ſo I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his youth he abſtain'd not from Women, and coming on a day to *Andover*, caus'd a Dukes Daughter there dwelling, reported rare of Beauty, to be brought to him. The mother not dareing flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her Daughter ſhould be ſo deflour'd, at fit time of night ſent in her attire, one of her waiting Maids; a Maid it ſeems not unhanſom nor unwitty; who ſuppli'd the place of her young Lady. Night paſs'd, the Maid going to riſe, but day-light ſcarſe yet appearing, was by the King aſkt why ſhe made ſuch haſt, ſhe anſwer'd, to do the work which her Lady had ſet her; at which the King wondring, and with much ado ſtaying her to unfold the riddle, for he took her to be the Dukes Daughter, ſhe falling at his Feet beſought him, that ſince at the command of her Lady ſhe came to his Bed, and was enjoy'd by him, he would be pleas'd in recompence to ſet her free from the hard ſervice of her Miſtreſs. The King a while ſtanding in a ſtudy whether he had beſt be angry or not, at length turning all to a jeſt, took the Maid away with him, advanc'd her above her Lady, lov'd her and accompanied with her only, till he married *Elfrida*. Theſe only are his faults upon record, rather

ther to be wonderd how they were ſo few, and ſo ſoon left, he coming at 16 to the Licence of a Scepter; and that his vertues were ſo many and ſo mature, he dying before the Age wherin wiſdome can in others attain to any ripeneſs: however with him dy'd all the *Saxon* glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but thir decline and ruin under a double Conqueſt, and the cauſes foregoing; which, not to blur or taint the praiſes of thir former actions and liberty well defended, ſhall ſtand ſeverally related, and will be more then long enough for another Book.

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

The Sixth Book.

Edward the Younger.

Edward the eldeſt Son of *Edgar* by *Egelfieda* his firſt Wife, the Daughter of Duke *Ordmer*, was according to right and his Fathers Will, plac'd in the Throne; *Elfrida* his ſecond Wife, and her faction only repineing, who labour'd to have had her Son *Ethelred* a Child of 7 years, preferr'd before him; that ſhe under that pretence might have rul'd all. Mean while Comets were ſeen in Heav'n, por-

tending not Famin only, which follow'd the next year, but the troubl'd State of the whole Realm not long after to enſue. The troubles begun in *Edwi's* daies, between Monks and ſecular Prieſts, now reviv'd and drew on either ſide many of the Nobles into parties. For *Elfere* Duke of the *Mercians*, with many other Peers, corrupted as is ſaid with guifts, drove the Monks out of thoſe Monaſteries where *Edgar* had plac'd them, and in thir ſtead put ſecular Prieſts with thir Wives. But *Ethelwin* Duke of *Eaſt-Angles*, with his Brother *Elfwold*, and Earl *Britnoth* oppos'd them, and gathering an Army defended the Abbies of *Eaſt-Angles* from ſuch intruders. To appeaſe theſe tumults, a Synod was call'd at *Wincheſter*, and nothing there concluded, a general Councel both of Nobles and Prelates, was held at *Caln* in *Wiltſhire*, where while the diſpute was hot, but chiefly againſt *Dunſtan*, the room wherin they ſat fell upon thir heads, killing ſome, maiming others, *Dunſtan* only eſcaping upon a beam that fell not, and the King abſent by reaſon of his tender Age. This accident quieted the controverſie, and brought both parts to hold with *Dunſtan* and the Monks. Mean while the King addicted to a Religious life, and of a mild Spirit, ſimply permitted all things to the ambitious will of his Step-mother and her Son *Ethelred:* to whom ſhe diſpleas'd that the name only of King was wanting, practis'd thenceforth to remove King *Edward* out of the way; which in this manner ſhe brought about. *Edward* on a day wearied with hunting, thirſty and alone, while his attendance follow'd the Dogs, hearing that *Ethelred* and his mother lodg'd at *Corveſgate* (*Corfe* Caſtle, ſaith *Camden*, in the Ile of *Purbeck*) innocently went thether.

Florent.
Sim. Dun.

ther. She with all ſhew of kindneſs welcoming him, commanded drink to be brought forth, for it ſeems he lighted not from his Horſe; and while he was drinking, caus'd one of her Servants, privately before inſtructed, to ſtab him with a poignard. The poor youth who little expected ſuch unkindneſs there, turning ſpeedily the Reins, fled bleeding; till through loſs of blood falling from his Horſe, and expiring, yet held with one foot in the Stirrop, he was dragg'd along the way, trac'd by his blood, and buried without honour at *Werham*, having reign'd about 3 years: but the place of his burial not long after grew famous for miracles. After which by Duke *Elfer* (who, as *Malmsbury* ſaith, had a hand in his Death) he was Royally enterr'd at *Skepton* or *Shaftsbury*. The murdreſs *Elfrida* at length repenting ſpent the reſidue of her daies in ſorrow and great penance. 978. *Malmſ.*

Ethelred.

Ethelred ſecond Son of *Edgar* by *Elfrida* (for *Edmund* dy'd a Child) his Brother *Edward* wickedly remov'd, was now next in right to ſucceed, and accordingly Crown'd at *Kingſton*: reported by ſome, fair of viſage, comly of perſon, elegant of behaviour; but the event will ſhew that with many ſluggiſh and ignoble vices he quickly ſham'd his outſide; born and prolong'd a fatal miſchief of the people, and the ruin of his Country; whereof he gave early ſignes from his firſt infancy, bewraying the Font and Water while the Biſhop was baptizing him. Whereat *Dunſtan* much troubl'd, for he ſtood by and ſaw it, to them next him broke into theſe words, By God 979. *Malmſ.* *Florent.* *Sim. Dun.*

and Gods Mother this Boy will prove a Sluggard. Another thing is writt'n of him in his Childhood; which argu'd no bad nature, that hearing of his Brother *Edwards* cruel Death, he made loud lamentation; but his furious mother offended therwith, and having no rod at hand, beat him ſo with great Wax Candles, that he hated the ſight of them ever after. *Dunſtan* though unwilling ſet the Crown upon his head; but at the ſame time foretold op'nly, as is reported, the great evils that were to come upon him and the Land, in avengment of his Brothers innocent blood. And about the ſame time, one midnight, a Cloud ſometimes bloody, ſometimes fiery, was ſeen over all *England*; and within three years the *Daniſh* Tempeſt, which had long ſurceaſt, revolv'd again upon this Iland. To the more ample relating whereof, the *Daniſh* Hiſtory, at leaſt thir lateſt and diligenteſt Hiſtorian, as neither from the firſt landing of *Danes*, in the Reign of *Weſt-Saxon Brithric*, ſo now again from firſt to laſt, contributes nothing; buſied more then anough to make out the bare names and ſucceſſions of thir uncertain Kings, and thir ſmall actions at home: unleſs out of him I ſhould tranſcribe what hee takes, and I better may, from our own Annals; the ſurer, and the ſadder witneſſes of thir doings here, not glorious, as they vainly boaſt, but moſt inhumanly Barbarous. For the *Danes* well underſtanding, that *England* had now a ſlothfull King to thir wiſh, firſt landing at *Southampton* from 7 great Ships, took the Town, ſpoil'd the Country, and carried away with them great pillage; nor was *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall* uninfeſted on the ſhore; Pirats of *Norway* alſo harried the Coaſt of *Weſt-Cheſter*: and to add a worſe calamity, the City of

Sim. Dun. 982. *Malmſ.* *Eadmer.* *Florent.* *Hoved.*

of *London* was burnt, caſually or not, is not writt'n. *Sim. Dun.*
It chanc'd fowr years after, that *Ethelred* beſeig'd *Hoved.*
Rocheſter, ſome way or other offended by the Biſhop 986.
thereof. *Dunſtan* not approving the cauſe, ſent to *Malmſ.*
warn him that he provoke not St. *Andrew* the Patron *Ingulf.*
of that City, nor waſt his Lands; an old craft of the
Clergy to ſecure thir Church Lands, by entailing
them on ſome Saint; the King not hark'ning, *Dun-*
ſtan on this condition that the ſeige might be rais'd,
ſent him a hunderd pound, the money was accepted
and the ſeige diſſolv'd. *Dunſtan* reprehending his
avarice, ſent him again this word, becauſe thou haſt
reſpected money more then Religion, the evils which
I foretold ſhall the ſooner come upon thee; but not
in my days; for ſo God hath ſpok'n. The next year 987.
was calamitous, bringing ſtrange fluxes upon men, *Malmſ.*
and murren upon Cattel. *Dunſtan* the year follow- 988.
ing dy'd, a ſtrenuous Biſhop, zealous without dread *Malmſ.*
of perſon, and for ought appeers, the beſt of many
Ages, if he buſied not himſelf too much in ſecular
affairs. He was Chaplain at firſt to King *Athelſtan*,
and *Edmund* who ſucceeded, much imploi'd in
Court affairs, till envi'd by ſome who laid many
things to his charge, he was by *Edmund* forbidd'n
the Court, but by the earneſt mediation, ſaith *Ingulf*,
of *Turkitul* the Chancellour, receav'd at length to
favour, and made Abbot of *Glaſton*, laſtly by *Edgar*
and the generall Vote, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.
Not long after his Death, the *Danes* arriving in *De-*
vonſhire were met by *Goda* Lieutenant of that
Country, and *Strenwold* a valiant Leader, who put
back the *Danes*, but with loſs of thir own lives. The
third year following, under the conduct of *Juſtin* 991.
and *Guthmund* the Son of *Steytan*, they landed and *Sim. Dun.*
ſpoil'd

ſpoil'd *Ipſwich*, fought with *Britnoth* Duke of the *Eaſt-Angles* about *Maldon*, where they ſlew him; the ſlaughter elſe had bin equal on both ſides. Theſe and the like depredations on every ſide the Engliſh not able to reſiſt, by counſel of *Siric* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and two Dukes, *Ethelward* and *Alfric*; it was thought beſt for the preſent to buy that with Silver which they could not gain with thir Iron; and Ten Thouſand pound was paid to the *Danes* for peace. Which for a while contented; but taught them the ready way how eaſieſt to come by more. The next year but one they took by ſtorm and rifl'd *Bebbanburg* an antient City nigh *Durham*: ſailing thence into the mouth of *Humber*, they waſted both ſides therof, *Yorkeſhire* and *Lindſey*, burning and deſtroying all before them. Againſt theſe went out three Noblemen, *Frena*, *Frithegiſt*, and *Godwin*, but being all *Danes* by the Fathers ſide, willingly began flight, and forſook thir own Forces betray'd to the Enemy. No leſs treachery was at Sea; for *Alfric* the Son of *Elfer* Duke of *Mercia*, whom the King for ſome offence had baniſh'd but now recall'd, ſent from *London* with a Fleet to ſurpriſe the *Danes*, in ſome place of diſadvantage, gave them over night intelligence therof, then fled to them himſelf; which his Fleet, ſaith *Florent*, perceaveing, perſu'd, took the Ship, but miſs'd of his perſon; the *Londoners* by chance grapling with the *Eaſt-Angles* made them fewer, ſaith my Authour, by many thouſands. Others ſay, that by this notice of *Alfric*, the *Danes* not only eſcap'd, but with a greater Fleet ſet upon the Engliſh, took many of thir Ships, and in tryumph brought them up the *Thames*, intending to beſeige *London*: for *Anlaf* King of *Norway*, and

993. *Sim. Dun.*

Florent. *Huntingd.*

994. *Sim. Dun.*

Swane

Swane of *Denmarke*, at the head of these, came with 94 Gallies. The King for this treason of *Alfric*, put out his Sons Eyes; but the *Londoners* both by land and water, so valiantly resisted thir beseigers, that they were forc't in one day with great loss to give over. But what they could not on the City, they wreck'd themselves on the Countries round about, wasting with Sword and fire all *Essex*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*. Thence horsing thir Foot, diffus'd far wider thir outragious incursions, without mercy either to Sex or Age. The slothfull King instead of Warlike opposition in the Field, sends Embassadors to treat about another payment; the sum promisd was now 16 thousand pound; till which paid, the *Danes* winterd at *Southampton*; *Ethelred* inviteing *Anlaf* to come and visit him at *Andover*: where he was royally entertain'd, some say baptiz'd, or confirm'd, adopted Son by the King, and dismis't with great presents, promising by Oath to depart and molest the Kingdome no more; which he perform'd, but the calamity ended not so, for after some intermission of thir rage for three years, the other Navy of *Danes* sailing about to the West, enterd *Severn*, and wasted one while *South Wales*, then *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, till at length they winterd about *Tavistoc*. For it were an endless work to relate how they wallow'd up and down to every particular place, and to repeat as oft what devastations they wrought, what desolations left behinde them, easie to be imagin'd. In summ, the next year they afflicted *Dorsetshire*, *Hamshire*, and the Ile of *Wight*; by the English many resolutions were tak'n, many Armies rais'd, but either betray'd by the falshood, or discourag'd by the weakness of thir Leaders, they were

Malms.

Malms.

Huntingd.

997.

Sim. Dun.

998.

Sim. Dun.

were put to rout, or diſbanded themſelves. For Souldiers moſt commonly are as thir Commanders, without much odds of valour in one Nation or other, only as they are more or leſs wiſely diſciplin'd and
999. conducted. The following year brought them back
Sim. Dun. upon *Kent*, where they enterd *Medway*, and beſeig'd *Rocheſter*; but the *Kentiſh* men aſſembling, gave them a ſharp encounter, yet that ſuffic'd not to hinder them from doing as they had done in other places. Againſt theſe depopulations, the King levied an Army; but the unſkillfull Leaders not knowing what to do with it when they had it, did but drive out time, burd'ning and impoveriſhing the people, conſuming the publick treaſure, and more imboldning the Enemy, then if they had ſat quiet
1000. at home. What cauſe mov'd the *Danes* next year
Sim. Dun. to paſs into *Normandy*, is not recorded; but that they return'd thence more outragious then before. Mean while the King, to make ſome diverſion, undertak's an expedition both by Land and Sea into *Cumberland*, where the *Danes* were moſt planted; there and in the Ile of *Man*, or as *Camden* ſaith, *Angleſey*, imitating his Enemies in ſpoiling and unpeopleing; the *Danes* from *Normandy* arriving in
1001. the River *Ex*, laid ſeige to *Exeter*; but the Citti-
Sim. Dun. zens, as thoſe of *London*, valorouſly defending themſelves, they wreck'd thir anger, as before, on the Villages round about. The Country people of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire* aſſembling themſelves at *Penho*, ſhew'd thir readineſs, but wanted a head; and beſides, being then but few in number, were eaſily put to flight; the Enemy plundring all at will, with loaded ſpoils paſs'd into the Ile of *Wight*; from whence all *Dorſetſhire*, and *Hamſhire*, felt again

thir

thir fury. The *Saxon* Annals write, that before thir coming to *Exeter*, the *Hamſhire* men had a bickering with them, wherin *Ethelward* the Kings General was ſlain, adding other things hardly to be underſtood, and in one antient Copy ; ſo end. *Ethelred*, whom no adverſity could awake from his ſoft and ſluggiſh life, ſtill coming by the worſe at fighting, by the advice of his Peers not unlike himſelf, ſends one of his gay Courtiers, though looking loftily, to ſtoop baſely and propoſe a third tribute to the *Danes:* they willingly hark'n, but the ſumm is enhaunc't now to 24 thouſand pound, and paid ; the *Danes* therupon abſtaining from hoſtility. But the King to ſtrengthen his Houſe by ſome potent affinity, marries *Emma*, whom the *Saxons* call *Elgiva*, Daughter of *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*. With him *Ethelred* formerly had War or no good correſpondence, as appears by a Letter of Pope *John* the 15*th*. who made peace between them about eleaven years before; puſt up now with his ſuppos'd acceſs of ſtrength by this affinity, he caus'd the *Danes* all over *England*, though now living peaceably, in one day perfidiouſly to be maſſacherd, both Men, Women, and Childern ; ſending privat Letters to every Town and Citty, wherby they might be ready all at the ſame hower ; which till the appointed time (being the 9*th* of *July*) was conceal'd with great ſilence, and perform'd with much unanimity; ſo generally hated were the *Danes*. *Mat. Weſt.* writes, that this execution upon the *Danes* was ten years after ; that *Huna* one of *Ethelreds* Chief Captains, complaining of the *Daniſh* inſolencies in time of peace, thir pride, thir raviſhing of Matrons and Virgins, incited the King to this maſſacher, which in the madneſs of rage made no

1002. *Sim. Dun.* *Malmſ.* *Calviſ.* *Florent.* *Huntingd.* *Calviſius.*

difference of innocent or nocent. Among theſe, *Gunhildis* the Siſter of *Swane* was not ſpar'd, though much deſerving not pitty only, but all protection: ſhe with her Huſband Earl *Palingus*, coming to live in *England*, and receaving Chriſtianity, had her Huſband and young Son ſlain before her face, her ſelf then beheaded, foretelling and denouncing that her blood would coſt *England* dear. Some ſay this was done by the Traitor *Edric*, to whoſe cuſtody ſhe was committed; but the maſſacher was ſome years before *Edric*'s advancement; and if it were done by him afterward, it ſeems to contradict the privat correſpondence which he was thought to hold with the *Danes*. For *Swane* breathing revenge, haſted the next year into *England*, and by the treaſon or negligence of Count *Hugh*, whom *Emma* had recommended to the Government of *Devonſhire*, ſack'd the City of *Exeter*, her Wall from Eaſt to Weſt-gate brok'n down: after this waſting *Wiltſhire*, the people of that County, and of *Hamſhire*, came together in great numbers with reſolution ſtoutly to oppoſe him, but *Alfric* thir General, whoſe Sons Eyes the King had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himſelf on the King, by ruining his own Country, when he ſhould have orderd his Battel, the Enemy being at hand, fain'd himſelf tak'n with a vomiting; wherby his Army in great diſcontent, deſtitute of a Commander, turn'd from the Enemy; who ſtreight took *Wilton* and *Salsbury*, carrying the pillage therof to his Ships. Thence the next year landing on the Coaſt of *Norfolk*, he waſted the Country, and ſet *Norwich* on fire; *Ulfketel* Duke of the *Eaſt-Angles*, a man of great valour, not having ſpace to gather his Forces, after conſultation

Mat. Weſt.

1003.
Sim. Dun.

1004.
Sim. Dun.

conſultation had, thought it beſt to make peace with the *Dane*, which he breaking within three weeks, iſſu'd ſilently out of his Ships, came to *Thetford*, ſtaid there a night, and in the Morning left it flameing. *Ulſketel* hearing this, commanded ſome to go and break, or burn his Ships; but they not dareing or neglecting, he in the mean while with what ſecreſie and ſpeed was poſſible, drawing together his Forces, went out againſt the Enemy, and gave them a feirce onſet retreating to thir Ships; but much inferiour in number, many of the Cheif *Eaſt-Angles*, there loſt thir lives. Nor did the *Danes* come off without great ſlaughter of thir own; confeſſing that they never met in *England* with ſo rough a charge. The next year, whom War could not, a great Famin drove *Swane* out of the Land. *Sim. Dun.* 1005.
But the Summer following, another great Fleet of *Danes* enterd the Port of *Sandwich*, thence powrd out over all *Kent* and *Suſſex*, made prey of what they found. The King levying an Army out of *Mercia*, and the *Weſt-Saxons*, took on him for once the Manhood to go out and face them; But they who held it ſafer to live by rapine, then to hazard a Battel, ſhifting lightly from place to place, fruſtrated the ſlow motions of a heavy Camp, following thir wonted courſe of robbery, then running to thir Ships. Thus all *Autumn* they wearied out the Kings Army, which gone home to winter, they carried all thir pillage to the Ile of *Wight*, and there ſtaid till *Chriſtmas*; at which time the King being in *Shropſhire*, and but ill imploi'd (for by the procurement of *Edric*, he caus'd, as is thought, *Alfhelm* a noble Duke, treacherouſly to be ſlain, and the Eyes of his two Sons to be put out) they came *Sim. Dun.* 1006. *Florent.*

forth again, over-running *Hamſhire*, and *Barkeſhire*, as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*: thence to *Aſhdune*, and other places thereabout, neither known nor of tolerable pronuntiation; and returning by another way, found many of the people in Armes by the River *Kenet*; but making thir way through, they got ſafe with vaſt booty to thir Ships. The King and his Courtiers wearied out with thir laſt Summers jaunt after the nimble *Danes* to no purpoſe, which by proof they found too toilſome for thir ſoft Bones, more us'd to Beds and Couches, had recourſe to thir laſt and only remedy, thir Cofers; and ſend now the fourth time to buy a diſhonorable peace, every time ſtill dearer, not to be had now under 36 thouſand pound (for the *Danes* knew how to milk ſuch eaſie Kine) in name of Tribute and expences: which out of the people over all *England*, already half beggerd, was extorted and paid. About the ſame time *Ethelred* advanc'd *Edric*, ſurnam'd *Streon*, from obſcure condition to be Duke of *Mercia*, and marry *Edgitha* the Kings Daughter. The cauſe of his advancement, *Florent* of *Worſter*, and *Mat. Weſt.* attribute to his great wealth, gott'n by fine polices and a plauſible tongue: he prov'd a main acceſſory to the ruin of *England*, as his actions will ſoon declare. *Ethelred* the next year ſomewhat rowſing himſelf, ordain'd that every 310 Hides (a Hide is ſo much land as one Plow can ſufficiently till) ſhould ſet out a Ship or Gally, and every nine Hides find a Corſlet and Head-peice: new Ships in every Port were builded, vittl'd, fraught with ſtout Mariners and Souldiers, and appointed to meet all at *Sandwich*. A man might now think that all would go well; when ſuddenly a new miſchief ſprung up, diſſention

1007. *Sim. Dun.*

1008. *Sim. Dun.*

diſſention among the great ones; which brought all this diligence to as little ſucceſs as at other times before. *Eithric* the Brother of *Edric*, falſly accus'd *Wulnoth* a great Officer ſet over the *South-Saxons*, who fearing the potency of his Enemies, with 20 Ships got to Sea, and practis'd piracy on the Coaſt. Againſt whom, reported to be in a place where he might be eaſily ſurpris'd, *Eithric* ſets forth with 80 Ships; all which driv'n back by a Tempeſt and wrackt upon the ſhoar, were burnt ſoon after by *Wulnoth*. Diſheart'nd with this misfortune, the King returns to *London*; the reſt of his Navy after him; and all this great preparation to nothing. Wherupon *Turkill*, a *Daniſh* Earl, came with a Navy to the Ile of *Tanet*, and in *Auguſt* a far greater, led by *Heming* and *Ilaf* joyn'd with him. Thence coaſting to *Sandwich*, and landed, they went onward and began to aſſault *Canterbury*, but the Citizens and Eaſt Kentiſh men, coming to compoſition with them for three thouſand pound, they departed thence to the Ile of *Wight*, robbing and burning by the way. Againſt theſe the King levies an Army through all the land, and in ſeveral quarters places them nigh the Sea, but ſo unſkillfully or unſucceſsfully, that the *Danes* were not therby hinderd from exerciſeing thir wonted Robberies. It happ'nd that the *Danes* one day were gone up into the Country, far from thir Ships, the King having notice therof, thought to intercept them in thir return; his men were reſolute to overcome or die, time and place advantagious; but where courage and fortune was not wanting, there wanted Loyalty among them. *Edric* with ſuttle arguments that had a ſhew of deep policy, diſputed and perſwaded the ſimplicity of his

1009. *Sim. Dun.*

his Fellow Counſellers, that it would be beſt conſulted at that time to let the *Danes* paſs without ambuſh or interception. The *Danes* where they expected danger, finding none, paſs'd on with great joy and booty to thir Ships. After this, ſailing about *Kent*, they lay that Winter in the *Thames*, forcing *Kent* and *Eſſex* to contribution, oft-times attempting the City of *London*, but repuls't as oft to thir great loſs. Spring begun, leaving thir Ships, they paſs'd through *Chiltern* Wood into *Oxfordſhire*, burnt the City, and thence returning with divided forces waſted on both ſides the *Thames*; but hearing, that an Army from *London* was marcht out againſt them, they on the North-ſide, paſſing the River at *Staines*, join'd with them on the South into one body, and enrich't with great ſpoils, came back through *Surrey* to thir Ships; which all the Lent-time they repair'd. After *Eaſter*, ſailing to the *Eaſt-Angles* they arriv'd at *Ipſwich*, and came to a place call'd *Kingmere*, where they heard that *Ulfketell* with his Forces lay, who with a ſharp encounter ſoon entertain'd them; but his men at length giving back, through the ſuttlety of a *Daniſh* Servant among them who began the flight, loſt the field; though the men of *Cambridgeſhire* ſtood to it valiantly. In this Battel *Ethelſtan* the Kings Son in Law, with many other Noblemen, was ſlain; wherby the *Danes* without more reſiſtance, three months together had the ſpoiling of thoſe Countries and all the Fenns, burnt *Thetford* and *Grantbrig*, or *Cambridge*; thence to a hilly place not far off, call'd by *Huntingdon Baleſham*, by *Cauzden Gogmagog* Hills, and the Villages therabout they turn'd thir fury, ſlaying all they met ſave one man, who getting up into a Steeple, is ſaid to have defended

1010. *Sim. Dun. Florent.*

fended himſelf againſt the whole *Daniſh* Army. They therefore ſo leaving him, thir Foot by Sea, thir Horſe by land through *Eſſex*, return'd back lad'n to thir Ships left in the *Thames*. But many daies paſs'd not between, when ſalying again out of thir Ships as out of Savage Denns, they plunderd over again all *Oxfordſhire*, and added to thir prey *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Hertfordſhire*; then like *Huntingd.* wild Beaſts glutted, returning to thir Caves. A third excurſion they made into *Northamptonſhire*, burnt *Northampton*, ranſacking the Country round; then as to freſh paſture betook them to the *Weſt-Saxons*, and in like ſort harraſing all *Wiltſhire*, return'd, as I ſaid before, like wild Beaſts or rather Sea-Monſters to thir Water-ſtables, accompliſhing by *Chriſtmas* the Circuit of thir whole years good Deeds; an unjuſt and inhuman Nation, who receaving or not receaving tribute where none was owing them, made ſuch deſtruction of mankind, and rapine of their lively-hood, as is a miſery to read. Yet here they ceas'd not, for the next year 1011. repeating the ſame cruelties on both ſides the *Thames*, *Sim. Dun.* one way as far as *Huntingdon*, the other as far as *Wiltſhire* and *Southampton*, ſollicited again by the King for peace, and receaving thir demands both of tribute and contribution, they ſlighted thir faith; and in the beginning of *September* laid ſeige to *Canterbury*. On the twentieth day, by the treachery of *Almere* the Archdeacon, they took part of it and burnt it, committing all ſorts of maſſacher as a ſport; ſome they threw over the Wall, others into the fire, hung ſome by the privy members, infants pull'd from thir mothers breaſts, were either toſt on ſpears, or Carts drawn over them; Matrons and Virgins by the

the hair dragd and raviſh't. *Alſage* the grave Archbiſhop, above others hated of the *Danes*, as in all Counſells and actions to his might thir known oppoſer, tak'n, wounded, impriſon'd in a noiſom Ship; the multitude are tith'd, and every tenth only ſpar'd.

Eadmer. *Malmſ.* *Eadmer.* 1012. *Sim. Dun.*

Early the next year before *Eaſter*, while *Ethelred* and his Peers were aſſembl'd at *London*, to raiſe now the fifth Tribute amounting to 48 thouſand pound, the *Danes* at *Canterbury* propoſe to the Archbiſhop, who had bin now ſeav'n months thir Priſoner, life and liberty, if he pay them three thouſand pound; which he refuſeing as not able of himſelf, and not willing to extort it from his Tennants, is permitted till the next *Sunday* to conſider; then hal'd before thir Counſel, of whom *Turkill* was Cheif, and ſtill refuſeing, they riſe moſt of them being drunk, and beat him with the blunt ſide of thir Axes, then thruſt forth deliver him to be pelted with ſtones; till one *Thrum* a converted *Dane*, pittying him half dead, to put him out of pain; with a pious impiety, at one ſtroak of his Ax on the head diſpatch'd him. His body was carried to *London*, and there buried, thence afterward remov'd to *Canterbury*. By this time the tribute paid, and peace ſo oft'n violated ſworn again by the *Danes*, they diſpers'd thir Fleet; forty five of them, and *Turkill* thir Cheif ſtaid at *London* with the King, ſwore him Allegeance to defend his Land againſt all ſtrangers, on condition only to be fed and cloth'd by him. But this voluntary friendſhip of *Turkill* was thought to be deceitfull, that ſtaying under this pretence he gave intelligence to *Swane*, when moſt it would be ſeaſonable to come. In *July* therfore of the next year, King *Swane* arriving at *Sandwich*, made no ſtay there, but ſailing

Eadmer.

1013. *Sim. Dun.*

firſt

firſt to *Humber*, thence into *Trent*, landed and encamp'd at *Gainsburrow*: whither without delay repair'd to him the *Northumbrians*, with *Uthred* thir Earl; thoſe of *Lindſey* alſo, then thoſe of *Fisburg*, and laſtly all on the North of *Watling-ſtreet* (which is a high way from Eaſt to Weſt Sea) gave Oath and Hoſtages to obey him. From whom he commanded Horſes and proviſion for his Army, taking with him beſides Bands and Companies of thir choiceſt men; and committing to his Son *Canute* the care of his Fleet and hoſtages; he marches towards the *South Mercians*, commanding his Souldiers to exerciſe all Acts of hoſtility; with the terror wherof fully executed, he took in few daies the City of *Oxford*, then *Wincheſter*; thence tending to *London*, in his haſty paſſage over the *Thames*, without ſeeking Bridge or Ford, loſt many of his men. Nor was his expedition againſt *London* proſperous; for aſſaying all means by force or wile to take the City, wherin the King then was, & *Turkill* with his *Danes*, he was ſtoutly beat'n off as at other times. Thence back to *Wallingford* and *Bath*, directing his courſe, after uſual havock made, he ſate a while and refreſh'd his Army. There *Ethelm* an Earl of *Devonſhire*, and other great Officers in the Weſt yeilded him ſubjection. Theſe things flowing to his wiſh, he betook him to his Navy, from that time ſtil'd and accounted King of *England*, if a Tyrant, ſaith *Simeon*, may be call'd a King. The *Londoners* alſo ſent him hoſtages and made thir peace, for they fear'd his fury. *Ethelred* thus reduc't to narrow compaſs, ſent *Emma* his Queen, with his two Sons had by her, and all his treaſure to *Richard* the 2*d*. her Brother, Duke of *Normandy*; himſelf with his *Daniſh* Fleet abode

ſome while at *Greenwich*, then ſailing to the Ile of *Wight*, paſs'd after *Chriſtmas* into *Normandy*; where he was honourably receav'd at *Roan* by the Duke, though known to have born himſelf churliſhly and proudly towards *Emma* his Siſter, beſides his diſſolute Company with other women. Mean while *Swane* ceas'd not to exact almoſt inſupportable tribute of the people, ſpoiling them when he liſted, beſides, the like did *Turkill* at *Greenwich*. The next year beginning, *Swane* ſickens and dyes; ſome ſay terrifi'd and ſmitt'n by an appearing ſhape of St. *Edmund* arm'd, whoſe Church at *Bury* he had threat'nd to demoliſh; but the authority hereof relies only upon the Legend of St. *Edmund*. After his Death the *Daniſh* Army and Fleet made his Son *Canute* thir King; but the Nobility and States of *England* ſent Meſſengers to *Ethelred*, declareing that they preferr'd none before thir Native Sovran, if he would promiſe to govern them better then he had done, and with more Clemency. Wherat the King rejoicing, ſends over his Son *Edward* with Embaſſadors to Court, both high and low, and win thir love, promiſing largly to be thir mild and devoted Lord, to conſent in all things to thir will, follow thir counſel, and whatever had been done or ſpok'n by any man againſt him, freely to pardon; if they would loyally reſtore him to be thir King. To this the people cheerfully anſwer'd, and amity was both promisd and confirm'd on both ſides. An Embaſſey of Lords is ſent to bring back the King honourably; he returns in *Lent* and is joyfully receav'd of the people, marches with a ſtrong Army againſt *Canute*; who having got Horſes and joyn'd with the men of *Lindſey*, was preparing to make ſpoil in the Countries

Malmſ.

1014. *Sim. Dun. Mat. Weſt.*

tries adjoining; but by *Ethelred* unexpectedly coming upon him, was ſoon driv'n to his Ships, and his Confederats of *Lindſey* left to the anger of thir Country-men, executed without mercy both by fire and Sword. *Canute* in all haſt ſailing back to *Sandwich*, took the hoſtages giv'n to his Father from all parts of *England*, and with ſlit Noſes, Ears cropt, and hands chop't off, ſetting them aſhore, departed into *Denmarke*. Yet the people were not diſburd'nd, for the King rais'd out of them 30 thouſand pound to pay his Fleet of *Danes* at *Greenwich*. To theſe evills the Sea in *October* paſs'd his bounds, overwhelming many Towns in *England*, and of thir inhabitants many thouſands. The year following an Aſſembly being at *Oxford*, *Edric* of *Streon*, having invited two Noblemen, *Sigeferth*, and *Morcar*, the Sons of *Earngrun* of *Seav'nburg* to his Lodging, ſecretly murderd them: the King, for what cauſe is unknown, ſeis'd thir Eſtates, and caus'd *Algith* the Wife of *Sigeferth* to be kept at *Maidulfiburg*, now *Malmsbury*; whom *Edmund* the Prince there married againſt his Fathers minde, then went and poſſesd thir lands, making the people there ſubject to him. *Mat. Weſt.* ſaith, that theſe two were of the *Danes* who had ſeated themſelves in *Northumberland*, ſlain by *Edric* under colour of Treaſon laid to thir charge. They who attended them without, tumulting at the Death of thir Maiſters, were beat'n back; and driv'n into a Church, and defending themſelves were burnt there in the Steeple. Mean while *Canute* returning from *Denmarke* with a great Navy, 200 Ships richly gilded and adorn'd, well fraught with Arms and all proviſion; and, which *Encomium Emmæ* mentions not, two other Kings, *Lachman*

1015. *Sim. Dun.*

Malmſ.

Leges Ed. Conf. Tit. deduct. Norman.

of *Sweden*, *Olav* of *Norway*, arriv'd at *Sandwich*; And, as the ſame Authour then living writes, ſent out ſpies to diſcover what reſiſtance on land was to be expected; who return'd with certain report, that a great Army of Engliſh was in readineſs to oppoſe them. *Turkill*, who upon the arrival of theſe *Daniſh* Powers, kept faith no longer with the Engliſh, but joining now with *Canute*, as it were to reingratiate himſelf after his revolt, whether real or complotted, councell'd him (being yet young) not to land, but leave to him the management of this firſt Battel; the King aſſented, and he with the Forces which he had brought, and part of thoſe which arriv'd with *Canute*, landing to thir wiſh encounterd the Engliſh, though double in number, at a place call'd *Scoraſtan*, and was at firſt beaten back with much loſs. But at length animating his men with rage only and deſpair, obtain'd a clear Victory, which won him great reward and poſſeſſions from *Canute*. But of this action no other writer makes mention: from *Sandwich* therefore ſailing about to the River *Frome*, and there landing, over all *Dorſet*, *Sommerſet*, and *Wiltſhire*, ſpread waſtfull hoſtility. The King lay then ſick at *Coſham* in this County; though it may ſeem ſtrange how he could lie ſick there in the midſt of his Enemies. Howbeit *Edmund* in one part, and *Edric* of *Streon* in another, rais'd Forces by themſelves; but ſo ſoon as both Armies were united, the Traytor *Edric* being found to practice againſt the life of *Edmund*, he remov'd with his Army from him; whereof the Enemy took great advantage. *Edric* eaſily enticeing the 40 Ships of *Danes* to ſide with him, revolted to *Canute*, the *Weſt-Saxons* alſo gave pledges and furniſhed him with

Encom. Em.

Camd.

with Horſes. By which means the year enſueing, 1016.
he with *Edric* the Traytor, paſſing the *Thames* at *Sim. Dun.*
Cre lad, about twelftide, enterd into *Mercia*, and eſpecially *Warwickſhire*, depopulating all places in thir way. Againſt theſe, Prince *Edmund*, for his hardineſs call'd *Ironſide*, gather'd an Army; but the *Mercians* refus'd to fight unleſs *Ethelred* with the *Londoners* came to aid them; and ſo every man return'd home. After the Feſtival, *Edmund* gathering another Army beſought his Father to come with the *Londoners*, and what force beſides he was able; they came with great ſtrength gott'n together, but being come, and in a hopefull way of good ſucceſs, it was told the King, that unleſs he took the better heed, ſome of his own Forces would fall off and betray him. The King daunted with this perhaps cunning whiſper of the Enemy, diſbanding his Army, returns to *London*. *Edmund* betook him into *Northumberland*, as ſome thought to raiſe freſh Forces; but he with Earl *Uthred* on the one ſide, and *Canute* with *Edric* on the other, did little elſe but waſt the Provinces; *Canute* to Conquer them, *Edmund* to puniſh them, who ſtood neuter; for which cauſe *Stafford*, *Shropſhire*, and *Leſterſhire*, felt heavily his hand; while *Canute*, who was ruining the more Southern Shires, at length march'd into *Northumberland*; which *Edmund* hearing diſmiſs'd his Forces and came to *London*. *Uthred* the Earl haſted back to *Northumberland*, and finding no other remedy, ſubmitted himſelf with all the *Northumbrians*, giving hoſtages to *Canute*. Nevertheleſs by his command or connivence, and the hand of one *Turebrand* a *Daniſh* Lord; *Uthred* was ſlain, and *Iric* another *Dane* made Earl in his ſtead. This

Uthred

Vthred Son of *Walteof*, as *Simeon* writes, in his treatiſe of the Seige of *Durham*, in his youth obtain'd a great Victory againſt *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, who with the whole power of his Kingdome was fall'n into *Northumberland*, and laid ſeige to *Durham*. *Walteof* the old Earl unable to reſiſt, had ſecur'd himſelf in *Bebbanburg*, a ſtrong Town, but *Vthred* gathering an Army rais'd the Seige, ſlew moſt of the *Scots*, thir King narrowly eſcaping, and with the heads of thir ſlain fixt upon Poles beſet round the Walls of *Durham*. The year of this exploit *Simeon* cleers not, for in 969. and in the Reign of *Ethelred* as he affirms, it could not bee. *Canute* by another way returning Southward, joyfull of his ſucceſs, before *Eaſter* came back with all the Army to his Fleet. About the end of *April* enſueing, *Ethelred* after a long, troubleſome and ill govern'd Reign, ended his daies at *London*, and was buried in the Church of St. *Paul*.

Edmund Ironſide.

Florent. *Aelred* in the life of *Ed. Conf.*

AFter the deceaſe of *Ethelred*, they of the Nobility who were then at *London* together with the Citizens, choſe *Edmund* his Son (not by *Emma*, but a former Wife the Daughter of Earl *Thored*) in his Fathers room; but the Archbiſhops, Abbots, and many of the Nobles aſſembling together elected *Canute*; and coming to *Southamton* where he then remain'd, renounc'd before him all the race of *Ethelred*, and ſwore him fidelity: he alſo ſwore to them, in matters both religious and ſecular, to be thir faithfull Lord. But *Edmund* with all ſpeed going to the *Weſt-Saxons*, was joyfully receav'd of them as thir King,

Florent. *Sim. Dun.*

King, and of many other Provinces by their example. Mean while *Canute* about mid *May* came with his whole Fleet up the River to *London*; then cauſing a great Dike to be made on *Surrey* ſide, turn'd the ſtream and drew his Ships thether Weſt of the Bridge; then begirting the City with a broad and deep trench, aſſail'd it on every ſide; but repulſt as before by the valorous Defendants, and in deſpair of ſucceſs at that time, leaving part of his Army for the defence of his Ships, with the reſt ſped him to the *Weſt-Saxons*, ere *Edmund* could have time to aſſemble all his powers: who yet with ſuch as were at hand invoking divine aid, encounterd the *Danes* at *Pen* by *Gillingham* in *Dorſetſhire*, and put him to flight. After mid-ſummer, encreaſt with new Forces, he met with him again at a place call'd *Sheraſtan*, now *Sharſtan*; but *Edric*, *Almar*, and *Algar*, with the *Hamſhire* and *Wiltſhire* men, then ſideing with the *Danes*, he only maintain'd the fight, obſtinatly fought on both ſides, till night and wearineſs parted them. Day light returning renu'd the conflict; wherein the *Danes* appearing inferiour, *Edric* to diſhart'n the Engliſh cuts off the Head of one *Oſmer*, in countnance and hair ſomewhat reſembling the King, and holding it up, cries aloud to the Engliſh, that *Edmund* being ſlain and this his head, it was time for them to flie; which falacy *Edmund* perceaving, and op'nly ſhewing himſelf to his Souldiers, by a ſpear thrown at *Edric*, that miſſing him yet ſlew one next him, and through him another behinde, they recoverd heart, and lay ſore upon the *Danes* till night parted them as before: for ere the third morn, *Canute* ſenſible of his loſs, march'd away by ſtealth to his Ships at *London*, renuing *Malmſ.*

nuing there his leagre. Some would have this Battell at *Sheraſtan* the ſame with that at *Scoraſtan* before mention'd, but the circumſtance of time permits not that, having bin before the landing of *Canute*, this a good while after, as by the Proceſs of things appears: from *Sheraſtan* or *Sharſtan*, *Edmund* return'd to the *Weſt-Saxons*, whoſe valour *Edric* fearing, leaſt it might prevail againſt the *Danes*, ſought pardon of his revolt, and obtaining it ſwore loyalty to the King, who now the third time coming with an Army from the *Weſt-Saxons* to *London*, rais'd the Seige, chaſeing *Canute* and his *Danes* to thir Ships. Then after two daies paſſing the *Thames* at *Branford*, and ſo coming on thir backs, kept them ſo turn'd, and obtain'd the Victory: then returns again to his *Weſt Saxons*, and *Canute* to his Seige, but ſtill in vain; riſeing therfore thence, he enterd with his Ships a River then call'd *Arenne*; and from the Banks therof waſted *Mercia*; thence thir Horſe by land, thir Foot by Ship came to *Medway*. *Edmund* in the mean while with multipli'd Forces out of many Shires, croſſing again at *Branford*, came into *Kent*, ſeeking *Canute*; encounterd him at *Oxford*, and ſo defeated, that of his Horſe, they who eſcap'd fled to the Ile of *Sheppey*; and a full Victory he had gain'd, had not *Edric* ſtill the Traytor by ſome wile or other detain'd his perſuit: and *Edmund* who never wanted courage, heer wanted prudence to be ſo miſled, ever after forſak'n of his wonted Fortune. *Canute* croſſing with his Army into *Eſſex*, thence waſted *Mercia* worſe then before, and with heavy prey return'd to his Ships: them *Edmund* with a collected Army perſueing, overtook at a place call'd *Aſſandune*, or *Aſſeshill*, now *Aſhdown* in *Eſſex*; the Battel

Camden.

no

on either ſide was fought with great vehemence; but perfidious *Edric* perceaving the Victory to incline towards *Edmund*, with that part of the Army which was under him, fled, as he had promis'd *Canute*, and left the King over-match't with numbers: by which deſertion the Engliſh were overthrown, Duke *Alfric*, Duke *Godwin*, and *Ulfketel* the valiant Duke of *Eaſt-Angles*, with a great part of the Nobility ſlain, ſo as the Engliſh of a long time had not receav'd a greater blow. Yet after a while *Edmund* not abſurdly call'd *Ironſide*, preparing to try again his Fortune in another feild, was hinderd by *Edric* and others of his faction, adviſeing him to make peace and divide the Kingdome with *Canute*. To *Camd.* which *Edmund* over-rul'd, a treaty appointed, and pledges mutually giv'n, both Kings met together at a place call'd *Deorhirſt* in *Gloſterſhire*; *Edmund* on the Weſt ſide of *Severn*, *Canute* on the Eaſt with thir Armies, then both in perſon wafted into an Iland, at that time call'd *Olanege*, now *Alney* in the midſt of *Camd.* the River; ſwearing amity and brotherhood, they parted the Kingdome between them. Then interchanging Armes and the habit they wore, aſſeſſing alſo what pay ſhould be allotted to the Navy; they departed each his way. Concerning this interveiw and the cauſe therof, others write otherwiſe; *Malmſbury*, that *Edmund* greiving at the loſs of ſo much blood ſpilt for the ambition only of two men ſtriveing who ſhould reign, of his own accord ſent to *Canute*, offering him ſingle Combate, to prevent in thir own cauſe the effuſion of more blood then thir own; that *Canute* though of courage anough, yet not unwiſely doubting to adventure his body of ſmall Timber, againſt a man of Iron ſides, refus'd

the Combate, offring to divide the Kingdome; this offer pleaſing both Armies, *Edmund* was not difficult to conſent; and the deciſion was, that he as his hereditary Kingdome ſhould rule the *Weſt-Saxons*, and all the *South*, *Canute* the *Mercians*, and the *North*. *Huntingdon* follow'd by *Mat. Weſt.* relates, that the Peers on every ſide wearied out with continuall warfare, and not refraining to affirm op'nly, that they two who expected to reign ſingly, had moſt reaſon to fight ſingly, the Kings were content; the Iland was thir liſts, the Combate Knightly; till *Knute* finding himſelf too weak, began to parle, which ended as is ſaid before. After which the *Londoners* bought thir peace of the *Danes*, and permitted them to winter in the City. But King *Edmund* about the Feaſt of St. *Andrew*, unexpectedly deceas'd at *London*, and was buried neer to *Edgar* his Grandfather at *Glaſton*. The cauſe of his ſo ſudden death is uncertain; common fame, ſaith *Malmsbury*, laies the guilt therof upon *Edric*, who to pleaſe *Canute*, allur'd with promiſe of reward two of the Kings Privy Chamber, though at firſt abhorring the fact, to aſſaſſinate him at the ſtool, by thruſting a ſharp Iron into his hinder parts. *Huntingdon*, and *Mat. Weſt.* relate it done at *Oxford* by the Son of *Edric*, and ſomething vary in the manner, not worth recital. *Edmund* dead, *Canute* meaning to reign ſole King of *England*, calls to him all the Dukes, Barons, and Biſhops of the Land, cunningly demanding of them who were witneſſes what agreement was made between him and *Edmund* dividing the Kingdome, whether the Sons and Brothers of *Edmund* were to govern the *Weſt-Saxons* after him, *Canute* living? they who underſtood his meaning, and fear'd to undergo

undergo his anger, timorouſly anſwerd, that *Edmund* they knew had left no part therof to his Sons or Brethren, living or dying; but that he intended *Canute* ſhould be thir Guardian, till they came to age of reigning. *Simeon* affirms, that for fear or hope of reward they atteſted what was not true: notwithſtanding which he put many of them to death not long after.

Canute, or *Knute*.

Canute having thus ſounded the Nobility, and by them underſtood, receav'd thir Oath of fealty, they the pledge of his bare hand, and Oath from the *Daniſh* Nobles; wherupon the Houſe of *Edmund* was renounc't, and *Canute* Crown'd. Then they enacted, that *Edwi* Brother of *Edmund*, a Prince of great hope, ſhould be baniſh't the Realm. But *Canute* not thinking himſelf ſecure while *Edwi* liv'd, conſulted with *Edric* how to make him away; who told him of one *Ethelward* a decay'd Nobleman, likelieſt to do the work. *Ethelward* ſent for, and tempted by the King in privat, with largeſt rewards, but abhorring in his mind the deed, promisd to do it when he ſaw his opportunity; and ſo ſtill deferr'd it. But *Edwi* afterwards receav'd into favour as a ſnare, was by him or ſome other of his falſe freinds, *Canute* contriving it, the ſame year ſlain. *Edric* alſo counſel'd him to diſpatch *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Sons of *Ironſide*; but the King doubting that the fact would ſeem too foul done in *England*, ſent them to the King of *Sweden*, with like intent; but he diſdaining the Office, ſent them for better ſafety to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*; where *Edmund* at 1017. *Sim. Dun. Sax. an.*

length dy'd, but *Edward* married *Agatha* Daughter to *Henry* the *German* Emperour. A digreſſion in the Laws of *Edward* Confeſſor under the Title of *Lex Noricorum* ſaith, that this *Edward* for fear of *Canute*, fled of his own accord to *Maleſclot* King of the *Rugians*, who receav'd him honourably, and of that Country gave him a Wife. *Canute* ſettl'd in his Throne, divided the Government of his Kingdom into fowr parts; the *Weſt-Saxons* to himſelf, the *Eaſt-Angles* to Earl *Turkill*, the *Mercians* to *Edric*, the *Northumbrians* to *Eric*; then made peace with all Princes round about him, and his former Wife being dead, in *July* married *Emma* the Widow of King *Ethelred*. The *Chriſtmas* following was an ill Feaſt to *Edric*, of whoſe Treaſon, the King having now made uſe as much as ſerv'd his turn, and fearing himſelf to be the next betray'd, caus'd him to be ſlain at *London* in the Palace, thrown over the City Wall, and there to lie unburied; the head of *Edric* fixt on a pole, he commanded to be ſet on the higheſt Tower of *London*, as in a double ſence he had promis'd him, for the murder of King *Edmund* to exalt him above all the Peers of *England*. *Huntingdon*, *Malmsbury*, and *Mat. Weſt.* write, that ſuſpecting the Kings intention to degrade him from his *Mercian* Dukedome, and upbraiding him with his merits, the King enrag'd, caus'd him to be ſtrangl'd in the room, and out at a Window thrown into the *Thames*. Another writes, that *Eric* at the Kings command ſtruck off his head. Other great men though without fault, as Duke *Norman* the Son of *Leofwin*, *Ethelward* Son of Duke *Agelmar*, he put to death at the ſame time, jealous of thir power or familiarity with *Edric*: and notwithſtanding peace, kept

Encom. Em. Ingulf.

kept ſtill his Army; to maintain which, the next year he ſquees'd out of the Engliſh, though now his ſubjects, not his Enemies, 72, ſome ſay, 82 thouſand pound, beſides 15 thouſand out of *London*. Mean while great War aroſe at *Carr*, between *Uthred* Son of *Waldef*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, with whom held *Eugenius* King of *Lothian*. But heer *Simeon* the relater ſeems to have committed ſome miſtake, having ſlain *Uthred* by *Canute* two years before, and ſet *Eric* in his place: *Eric* therfore it muſt needs be, not *Uthred*, who manag'd this War againſt the *Scots*. About which time in a Convention of *Danes* at *Oxford*, it was agreed on both parties to keep the Laws of *Edgar*; *Mat. Weſt.* ſaith, of *Edward* the Elder. The next year *Canute* ſail'd into *Denmarke*, and there abode all Winter. *Huntingdon* and *Mat. Weſt.* ſay, he went thether to repreſs the *Swedes*, and that the night before a Battel to be fought with them, *Godwin* ſtealing out of the Camp with his Engliſh, aſſaulted the *Swedes*, and had got the Victory ere *Canute* in the morning knew of any fight. For which bold enterpriſe, though againſt Diſcipline, he had the Engliſh in more eſteem ever after. In the Spring at his return into *England*, he held in the time of *Eaſter* a great aſſembly at *Chirchefter*, and the ſame year was with *Turkill* the *Dane* at the dedication of a Church by them built at *Aſſendune*, in the place of that great Victory which won him the Crown. But ſuſpecting his greatneſs, the year following baniſh'd him the Realm, and found occaſion to do the like by *Eric* the *Northumbrian* Earl upon the ſame jealouſie. Nor yet content with his Conqueſt of *England*, though now above ten years enjoy'd, he paſs'd with

1018. *Sim. Dun. Huntingd. Mat. Weſt.*

1019. *Sim. Dun.*

1020. *Sim. Dun.*

1021. *Sim. Dun. Malmſ.*

1028. *Sim. Dun.*

50 Ships into *Norway*, diſpoſſeſs'd *Olave* thir King, and ſubdu'd the land, firſt with great ſummes of money ſent the year before to gain him a party, then
1029. coming with an Army to compell the reſt. Thence
Sim. Dun. returning King of *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*, yet not ſecure in his mind, under colour of an Embaſſey he ſent into baniſhment *Hacun* a powerfull *Dane*, who had married the Daughter of his Siſter *Gunildis*, having conceav'd ſome ſuſpition of his practices againſt him: but ſuch courſe was tak'n, that he never came back; either periſhing at Sea, or
1030. ſlain by contrivance the next year in *Orkney*. *Ca-*
Sim. Dun. *nute* therefore having thus eſtabliſh't himſelf by
1031. bloodſhed and oppreſſion, to waſh away, as he
Sim. Dun. thought, the guilt therof, ſailing again into *Denmark*, went thence to *Rome*, and offerd there to St. *Peter* great guifts of Gold and Silver, and other pretious things; beſides the uſuall tribute of *Romſcot*,
Huntingd. giving great Alms by the way, both thether and back again, freeing many places of Cuſtom and Toll with great expence, where ſtrangers were wont to pay, having vow'd great amendment of life at the Sepulchre of *Peter* and *Paul*, and to his whole people in a large letter writt'n from *Rome*
1032. yet extant. At his return therfore he built and de-
Sim. Dun. dicated a Church to St. *Edmund* at *Bury*, whom his Anceſtors had ſlain, threw out the ſecular Preiſts who had intruded there, and plac'd Monks in thir ſtead; then going into *Scotland*, ſubdu'd and re-
Huntingd. ceav'd homage of *Malcolm*, and two other Kings
1035. there, *Melbeath*, and *Jermare*. Three years after
Sim. Dun. having made *Swane* his ſuppos'd Son by *Algiva* of *Northamton*, Duke *Alſhelms* Daughter (for others ſay the Son of a Preiſt whom *Algiva* barren had got

ready

ready at the time of her feign'd labour) King of *Norway*, and *Hardecnute* his Son by *Emma* King of *Denmark*, and deſign'd *Harold* his Son by *Algiva* of *Northamton* King of *England*, dy'd at *Shaftsbury*, and was buried at *Winchester* in the old Monaſtery. This King, as appears, ended better then he began, for though he ſeems to have had no hand in the Death of *Ironſide*, but deteſted the fact, and bringing the murderers, who came to him in hope of great reward, forth among his Courtiers, as it were to receave thanks, after they had op'nly related the manner of thir killing him, deliver'd them to deſerved puniſhment, yet he ſpar'd *Edric* whom he knew to be the prime Authour of that deteſtable fact; till willing to be rid of him, grown importune upon the confidence of his merits, and upbraided by him that he had firſt relinquiſht, then extinguiſht *Edmund* for his ſake; angry to be ſo upbraided, therfore ſaid he with a chang'd countnance, Traytor to God and to me, thou ſhalt die; thine own mouth accuſes thee to have ſlain thy Maſter my confederate Brother, and the Lords Anointed. Whereupon although preſent and privat Execution was in rage done upon *Edric*, yet he himſelf in cool blood ſcrupl'd not to make away the Brother and Childern of *Edmund*, who had better right to be the Lords Anointed heer then himſelf. When he had obtain'd in *England* what he deſir'd, no wonder if he ſought the love of his conquerd Subjects for the love of his own quiet, the maintainers of his wealth and ſtate, for his own profit. For the like reaſon he is thought to have married *Emma*, and that *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* her Brother might the leſs care what became of *Elfred* and *Edward*, her Sons by King *Ethelred*.

Florent.

Florent.

Malmſ.

Ethelred. He commanded to be obſerv'd the antient *Saxon* Laws, call'd afterwards the Laws of *Edward* the Confeſſor, not that hee made them, but ſtrictly obſerv'd them. His Letter from *Rome* profeſſes, if he had done aught amiſs in his youth, through negligence or want of due temper, full reſolution with the help of God to make amends, by governing juſtly and piouſly for the future; charges and adjures all his Officers and Vicounts, that neither for fear of him, or favour of any perſon, or to enrich the King, they ſuffer injuſtice to be done in the land; commands his treaſurers to pay all his Debts ere his return home, which was by *Denmarke*, to compoſe matters there; and what his Letter profeſs'd, he perform'd all his life after. But it is a fond conceit in many great ones, and pernicious in the end, to ceaſe from no violence till they have attain'd the utmoſt of thir ambitions and deſires; then to think God appeas'd by thir ſeeking to bribe him with a ſhare however large of thir ill-gott'n ſpoils, and then laſtly to grow zealous of doing right, when they have no longer need to do wrong. Howbeit *Canute* was famous through *Europe*, and much honour'd of *Conrade* the Emperour, then at *Rome*, with rich guifts and many grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of paſſages from Toll and Cuſtome. I muſt not omit one remarkable action done by him, as *Huntingdon* reports it, with great Scene of circumſtance, and emphatical expreſſion, to ſhew the ſmall power of Kings in reſpect of God; which, unleſs to Court-Paraſites, needed no ſuch laborious demonſtration. He caus'd his Royal Seat to be ſet on the ſhoar, while the Tide was coming in; and with all the ſtate that Royalty could put into

into his countnance, ſaid thus to the Sea: Thou Sea belongſt to me, and the Land wheron I ſit is mine; nor hath any one unpuniſh'd reſiſted my commands: I charge thee come no furder upon my Land, neither preſume to wet the Feet of thy Sovran Lord. But the Sea, as before, came rowling on, and without reverence both wet and daſh'd him. Wherat the King quickly riſeing, wiſh'd all about him to behold and conſider the weak and frivolous power of a King, and that none indeed deſerv'd the name of a King, but he whoſe Eternal Laws both Heav'n, Earth, and Sea obey. A truth ſo evident of it ſelf, as I ſaid before, that unleſs to ſhame his Court Flatterers who would not elſe be convinc't, *Canute* needed not to have gone wet-ſhod home: The beſt is, from that time forth he never would wear a Crown, eſteeming Earthly Royalty contemptible and vain.

Harold.

Harold for his ſwiftneſs ſurnam'd *Harefoot*, the Son of *Canute* by *Algiva* of *Northampton* (though ſome ſpeak doubtfully as if ſhe bore him not, but had him of a Shoo-makers Wife; as *Swane* before of a Preiſt; others of a Maid-Servant, to conceal her barrenneſs) in a great Aſſembly at *Oxford*, was by Duke *Leofric* and the *Mercians*, with the *Londoners*, according to his Fathers Teſtament, elected King; but without the Regal Habiliments, which *Ælnot* the Archbiſhop having in his Cuſtody, refus'd to deliver up, but to the Sons of *Emma*, for which *Harold* ever after hated the Clergy; and (as the Clergy are wont thence to inferr) all Religion. *Florent.* *Bromton.* *Huntingd.* *Mat. Weſt.* *Mat. Weſt.* *Encom. Em.*

Godwin Earl of *Kent*, and the Weſt-Saxons with him, ſtood for *Hardecnute*. *Malmsbury* ſaith, that the conteſt was between Dane and Engliſh; that the Danes and Londoners grown now in a manner Daniſh, were all for *Hardecnute*; but he being then in *Denmarke*, *Harold* prevail'd, yet ſo as that the Kingdom ſhould be divided between them; the Weſt and Southpart reſerv'd by *Emma* for *Hardecnute*, till his return. But *Harold* once advanc't into the Throne, baniſh'd *Emma* his Mother-in-law, ſeis'd on his Fathers Treaſure at *Wincheſter*, and there remain'd. *Emma* not holding it ſafe to abide in *Normandy* while Duke *William* the Baſtard was yet under Age, retir'd to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*. In the mean while *Alfred* and *Edward* Sons of *Ethelred*, accompanied with a ſmall number of Norman Souldiers in a few Ships, coming to viſit thir mother *Emma* not yet departed the land, and perhaps to ſee how the people were inclin'd to reſtore them thir right; *Elfred* was ſent for by the King then at *London*; but in his way met at *Guilford* by Earl *Godwin*, who with all ſeeming freindſhip entertain'd him, was in the night ſurpris'd and made Priſner, moſt of his Company put to various ſorts of cruel Death, decimated twice over, then brought to *London*, was by the King ſent bound to *Ely*, had his Eyes put out by the way, and deliverd to the Monks there, dy'd ſoon after in thir Cuſtody. *Malmsbury* gives little credit to this ſtory of *Elfred*, as not Chronicl'd in his time, but rumour'd only. Which *Emma* however hearing, ſent away her Son *Edward*, who by good hap accompanied not his Brother, with all ſpeed into *Normandy*. But the Authour of *Encomium Emmæ*, who ſeems plainly (though nameleſs) to

1036. *Sim. Dun.*

to have been ſome Monk, yet liv'd, and perhaps wrote within the ſame year when theſe things were done; by his relation differing from all others, much aggravates the cruelty of *Harold*, that he not content to have practis'd in ſecret (for op'nly he durſt not) againſt the life of *Emma*, ſought many treacherous ways to get her Son within his power; and reſolv'd at length to forge a Letter in the name of thir mother, inviting them into *England*, the Copy of which Letter he produces writt'n to this purpoſe.

EMma *in name only Queen, to her Sons* Edward *and* Alfrid *imparts motherly ſalutation. While we ſeverally bewail the Death of our Lord the King, moſt Dear Sons, and while daily yee are depriv'd more and more of the Kingdom your Inheritance; I admire what Counſel yee take, knowing that your intermitted delay, is a daily ſtrengthning to the Reign of your Uſurper, who inceſſantly goes about from Town to City, gaining the Chief Nobles to his party, either by giſts, prayers, or threats. But they had much rather one of you ſhould reign over them, then to be held under the power of him who now over-rules them. I entreat therefore that one of you come to me ſpeedily, and privatly; to receive from me wholſom Counſel, and to know how the buſineſs which I intend ſhall be accompliſht. By this Meſſenger preſent, ſend back what you determine. Farewell, as dear both as my own Heart.*

Theſe Letters were ſent to the Princes then in *Normandy*, by expreſs Meſſengers, with preſents alſo as from thir mother; which they joyfully receiving,

return word by the ſame Meſſengers, that one of them will be with her ſhortly; naming both the time and place. *Alfrid* therefore the younger (for ſo it was thought beſt) at the appointed time, with a few Ships and ſmall numbers about him appearing on the Coaſt, no ſooner came aſhore but fell into the ſnare of Earl *Godwin*, ſent on purpoſe to betray him; as above was related. *Emma* greatly ſorrowing for the loſs of her Son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediatly with ſome of the Nobles her faithfulleſt adherents into *Flanders*, had her dwelling aſſign'd at *Bruges* by the Earl; where having
1039. remain'd about two years, ſhe was viſited out of
Sim. Dun. *Denmarke* by *Hardecnute* her Son; and he not long had remain'd with her there, when *Harold* in *Eng-*
Huntingd. *land*, having done nothing the while worth memo-
1040. ry, ſave the taxing of every Port at 8 marks of Sil-
Sim. Dun. ver to 16 Ships, dy'd at *London*, ſome ſay at *Oxford*,
Malmſ. and was buried at *Wincheſter*. After which, moſt of the Nobility, both Danes and Engliſh now agreeing, ſend Embaſſadors to *Hardecnute* ſtill at *Bruges* with his mother, entreating him to come and receave as his right the Scepter, who before Midſomer came with 60 Ships, and many Souldiers out of *Denmarke*.

Hardecnute.

HArdecnute receav'd with acclamation, and ſeated in the Throne, firſt call'd to mind the injuries done to him or his Mother *Emma* in the time of *Harold*; ſent *Alfric* Biſhop of *Yorke*, *Godwin* and others, with *Troud* his Executioner to *London*, commanding them to dig up the body of King *Harold*, and

and throw it into a Ditch; but by a ſecond order, into the *Thames*. Whence tak'n up by a Fiſherman, and convei'd to a Church-yard in *London*, belonging to the Danes, it was enterr'd again with honour. This done he levied a ſore Tax, that 8 marks to every Rower, and twelve to every Officer in his Fleet ſhould be paid throughout *England*; by which time they who were ſo forward to call him over, had anough of him; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he call'd to account *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and *Leving* Biſhop of *Worſter*, about the Death of *Elfred* his Brother, which *Alfric* the Archbiſhop laid to thir charge; the King depriv'd *Leving* of his Biſhoprick, and gave it to his accuſer: but the year following, pacifi'd with a round ſumme reſtor'd it to *Leving*. *Godwin* made his peace by a ſumptuous preſent, a Gally with a guilded ſtem bravely rigg'd, and 80 Souldiers in her, every one with Bracelets of gold on each Arm, weighing 16 ounces, Helmet, Corſlet, and Hilts of his Sword guilded; a Daniſh Curtax liſted with gold or ſilver, hung on his left ſhoulder, a Sheild with boſs and nales guilded in his left hand, in his right a Launce: beſides this, he took his Cath before the King, that neither of his own councel or will, but by the command of *Harold* he had done what he did, to the putting out of *Elfreds* Eyes. The like Oath took moſt of the Nobility for themſelves, or in his behalf. The next year, *Hardecnute* ſending his Houſe Earls, ſo they call'd his Officers, to gather the Tribute impos'd; two of them rigorous in thir Office, were ſlain at *Worſter* by the people; wherat the King enrag'd, ſent *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Seward* of *Northumberland*, with great Forces and

Malmſ.

1041.

Sim. Dun.

and Commiſſion to ſlay the Cittizens, rifle and burn the City, waſt the whole Province. Affrighted with ſuch news, all the people fled; the Countrymen whither they could, the Cittizens to a ſmall Iland in *Severn*, call'd *Beverege*, which they fortifi'd and defended ſtoutly, till peace was granted them, and freely to return home. But thir City they found ſack't and burnt; wherwith the King was appeas'd. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that toward his half brethren, though Rivals of his Crown, he ſhew'd himſelf alwayes tenderly affectiond; as now towards *Edward*, who without fear came to him out of *Normandy*, and with unfeigned kindneſs receav'd, remain'd ſafely and honorably in his Court. But *Hardecnute* the year following, at a Feaſt wherin *Oſgod* a great Daniſh Lord gave his Daughter in marriage at *Lambeth*, to *Prudon* another potent Dane; in the midſt of his mirth, ſound and healthfull to ſight, while he was drinking fell down ſpeechleſs, and ſo dying, was buried at *Wincheſter* beſide his Father. He was it ſeems a great lover of good chere; ſitting at Table fowr times a day, with great variety of Diſhes and ſuperfluity to all Commers. Wheras, ſaith *Huntingdon*, in our time Princes in thir houſes made but one meal a day. He gave his Siſter *Gunildis*, a Virgin of rare Beauty, in marriage to *Henry* the *Alman* Emperour; and to ſend her forth pompouſly, all the Nobility contributed thir Jewels and richeſt Ornaments. But it may ſeem a wonder that our Hiſtorians, if they deſerve that name, ſhould in a matter ſo remarkable, and ſo neer thir own time, ſo much differ. *Huntingdon* relates againſt the credit of all other records, that *Hardecnute*

1042. *Sim. Dun.*

thus

thus dead, the Engliſh rejoycing at this unexpected riddance of the Daniſh yoke, ſent over to *Elfred* the Elder Son of *Emma* by King *Ethelred*, of whom we heard but now, that he dy'd Priſner at *Ely*, ſent thether by *Harold* ſix year before; that he came now out of *Normandy*, with a great number of men to receave the Crown; that Earl *Godwin* aiming to have his Daughter Queen of *England* by marrying her to *Edward* a ſimple youth, for he thought *Elfred* of a higher Spirit then to accept her, perſuaded the Nobles that *Elfred* had brought over too many Normans, had promis'd them lands heer, that it was not ſafe to ſuffer a Warlike and ſuttle Nation to take root in the Land, that theſe were to be ſo handl'd as none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of relation to the King; therupon by common conſent of the Nobles, both *Elfred* and his Company were dealt with as was above related; that they then ſent for *Edward* out of *Normandy*, with hoſtages to be left there of thir faithfull intentions to make him King, and thir deſires not to bring over with him many Normans; that *Edward* at thir call came then firſt out of *Normandy*; wheras all others agree that he came voluntarily over to viſit *Hardecnute*, as is before ſaid, and was remaining in the Court at the time of his Death. For *Hardecnute* dead, ſaith *Malmsbury*, *Edward* doubting greatly his own ſafety, determin'd to rely wholly on the advice and favour of Earl *Godwin*, deſiring therfore by meſſengers to have privat ſpeech with him, the Earl a while deliberated: at laſt aſſenting, Prince *Edward* came, and would have fall'n at his feet; but that not permitted, told him the danger wherin he thought himſelf

ſelf at preſent, and in great perplexity beſought her help to convey him ſome whether out of the Land. *Godwin* ſoon apprehending the fair occaſion that prompted him how to advance himſelf and his Family, cherfully exhorted him to remember himſelf the Son of *Ethelred*, the Grandchild of *Edgar*, right Heir to the Crown, at full Age; not to think of flying but of reigning, which might eaſily be brought about if he would follow his Counſel; then ſetting forth the power and authority which he had in *England*, promis'd it ſhould be all his to ſet him on the Throne, if he on his part would promiſe and ſwear to be for ever his friend, to preſerve the honour of his Houſe, and to marry his Daughter. *Edward*, as his neceſſity then was, conſented eaſily, and ſwore to whatever *Godwin* requir'd. An Aſſembly of States therupon met at *Gillingham*, where *Edward* pleaded his right; and by the powerfull influence of *Godwin* was accepted. Others, as *Bromton*, with no probability write, that *Godwin* at this time was fled into *Denmarke*, for what he had done to *Elfred*, return'd and ſubmitted himſelf to *Edward* then King, was by him charg'd op'nly with the Death of *Elfred*, and not without much ado, by the interceſſion of *Leofric* and other Peers, receav'd at length into favour.

Edward the Confeſſor.

GLad were the Engliſh deliverd ſo unexpectedly from thir Daniſh Maiſters, and little thought how neer another Conqueſt was hanging over them.

1043. *Sim. Dun.* *Edward*, the *Eaſter* following, Crown'd at *Wincheſter*, the ſame year accompanied with Earl *Godwin*, deed

Leofric, and *Siward*, came again thether on a ſudden, and by thir Counſel ſeis'd on the treaſure of his Mother *Emma*. The cauſe alleg'd is, that ſhe was hard to him in the time of his baniſhment; and indeed ſhe is ſaid not much to have lov'd *Ethelred* her former Huſband, and thereafter the Childern by him; ſhe was moreover noted to be very covetous, hard to the poor, and profuſe to Monaſteries. About this time alſo King *Edward*, according to promiſe, took to Wife *Edith* or *Egith* Earl *Godwins* Daughter, commended much for beauty, modeſty, and, beyond what is requiſite in a woman, learning. *Ingulf* a youth lodging in the Court with his Father, ſaw her oft, and coming from the School, was ſometimes met by her and pos'd, not in Grammar only, but in Logic. *Malmſ.* *Edward* the next year but one, made ready a ſtrong Navy at *Sandwich* againſt *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who threat'nd an invaſion; had not *Swane* King of *Denmarke* diverted him by a War at home to defend his own land, not out of good will to *Edward*, as may be ſuppos'd, who at the ſame time expreſs'd none to the Danes, baniſhing *Gunildis* the Neece of *Canute* with her two Sons, and *Oſgod* by ſirname *Clapa*, out of the Realm. *Swane* over-powred by *Magnus*, ſent the next year to entreat aid of King *Edward*; *Godwin* gave counſel to ſend him 50 Ships fraught with Souldiers; but *Leofric* and the general voice gain-ſaying, none were ſent. The next year *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway* ſending Embaſſadors, made peace with King *Edward*; but an Earthquake at *Worſter* and *Darby*, Peſtilence and Famin in many places, much leſſe'nd the enjoyment therof. The next year *Henry* the Emperour diſpleas'd with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, had

1045. *Sim. Dun.*

1046. *Sim. Dun.*

1047. *Sim. Dun.*

1048. *Sim. Dun.*

1049. *Sim. Dun.*

had ſtreit'nd him with a great Army by land; and ſending to King *Edward*, deſir'd him with his Ships to hinder what he might, his eſcape by ſea. The King therfore with a great Navy coming to *Sandwich*, there ſtaid till the Emperour came to an agreement with Earl *Baldwin*. Mean while *Swane* Son of Earl *Godwin*, who not permitted to marry *Edgiva* the Abbeſs of *Cheſter* by him deflour'd, had left the land, came out of *Denmarke* with 8 Ships, feigning a deſire to return into the Kings favour; and *Beorn* his Couſin German, who commanded part of the Kings Navy, promis'd to intercede that his Earldome might be reſtor'd him. *Godwin* therfore and *Beorn* with a few Ships, the reſt of the Fleet gone home, coming to *Pevenſey* (but *Godwin* ſoon departing thence in perſuit of 29 Daniſh Ships who had got much booty on the Coaſt of *Eſſex*, and periſh'd by tempeſt in thir return) *Swane* with his Ships comes to *Beorn* at *Pevenſey*, guilefully requeſts him to ſail with him to *Sandwich*, and reconcile him to the King, as he had promis'd. *Beorn* miſtruſting no evill where he intended good, went with him in his Ship attended by three only of his Servants: but *Swane* ſet upon barbarous cruelty, not reconciliation with the King, took *Beorn* now in his power and bound him; then coming to *Dertmouth*, ſlew and buried him in a deep Ditch. After which, the men of *Haſtings* took ſix of his Ships and brought them to the King at *Sandwich*; with the other two he eſcap'd into *Flanders*, there remaining till *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worſter* by earneſt mediation wrought his peace with the King. About this time King *Edward* ſent to Pope *Leo*, deſiring abſolution from a vow, which he had made in his younger years, to take a

Mat. Weſt.

journey

journey to *Rome*, if God voutſaf'd him to reign in *England*; the Pope diſpenc'd with his vow, but not without the expence of his journey giv'n to the poor, and a Monaſtery built or re-edifi'd to St. *Peter*: who in a Viſion to a Monk, as is ſaid, choſe *Weſtminſter*, which King *Edward* thereupon rebuilding endow'd with large privileges and revennues. The ſame year, ſaith *Florent* of *Worſter*, certain Iriſh Pirats with 36 Ships enterd the mouth of *Severn*, and with the aid of *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, did ſome hurt in thoſe parts: then paſſing the River *Wey*, burnt *Dunedham*, and ſlew all the Inhabitants they found. Againſt whom *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worſter*, with a few out of *Gloſter* and *Hereford-ſhire*, went out in haſt: but *Griffin* to whom the Welch and Iriſh had privily ſent Meſſengers, came down upon the Engliſh with his whole power by night, and early in the morning ſuddenly aſſaulting them, ſlew many, and put the reſt to flight. The next year but one, King *Edward* remitted the Daniſh Tax, which had continu'd 38 years heavy upon the land ſince *Ethelred* firſt paid it to the *Danes*, and what remain'd therof in his treaſury he ſent back to the owners: but through imprudence laid the foundation of a far worſe miſcheif to the Engliſh; while ſtudying gratitude to thoſe Normans, who to him in exile had bin helpfull; he call'd them over to public Offices heer, whom better he might have repaid out of his privat purſe; by this means exaſperating either Nation one againſt the other, and making way by degrees to the Norman Conqueſt. *Robert* a Monk of that Country, who had bin ſerviceable to him there in time of need, he made Biſhop, firſt of *London*, then of *Canterbury*; *William*

1051. *Sim. Dun.*

Ingulf.

Ingulf. his Chaplain Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*. Then began the Engliſh to lay aſide thir own antient Cuſtomes, and in many things to imitate French manners, the great Peers to ſpeak French in thir Houſes, in French to write thir Bills and Letters, as a great peece of Gentility, aſham'd of thir own: a preſage of thir ſubjection ſhortly to that people, whoſe faſhions and language they affected ſo ſlaviſhly: But that which gave begining to many troubles enſueing, happ'nd this year, and upon this occaſion. *Euſtace* Earl of *Boloign*, Father of the famous *Godfrey* who won *Jeruſalem* from the Saracens, and Huſband to *Goda* the Kings Siſter, having bin to viſit King *Edward*, and returning by *Canterbury* to take Ship at *Dover*, one of his Harbingers inſolently ſeeking to lodge by force in a Houſe there, provok'd ſo the Maſter therof, as by chance or heat of anger to kill him. The Count with his whole train going to the Houſe where his Servant had bin kill'd, ſlew both the ſlayer and 18 more who defended him. But the Townſmen running to Arms, requited him with the ſlaughter of 21 more of his Servants, wounded moſt of the reſt; hee himſelf with one or two hardly eſcapeing; ran back with clamour to the King; whom ſeconded by other Norman Courtiers, he ſtirr'd up to great anger againſt the Cittizens of *Canterbury*. Earl *Godwin* in haſt is ſent for, the cauſe related and much aggravated by the King againſt that City, the Earl commanded to raiſe Forces, and uſe the Cittizens therof as Enemies. *Godwin*, ſorry to ſee ſtrangers more favour'd of the King then his native people, anſwerd, that it were better to ſummon firſt the Cheif men of the Town into the Kings Court, to charge them with Sedition, where both parties might

Malmſ.

might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitted, if otherwiſe, by fine or loſs of life might ſatisfie the King whoſe peace they had brok'n, and the Count whom they had injur'd; till this were done refuſeing to proſecute with hoſtile puniſhment them of his own County unheard, whom his Office was rather to defend. The King diſpleas'd with his refuſal, and not knowing how to compell him, appointed an Aſſembly of all the Peers to be held at *Gloſter*, where the matter might be fully try'd; the Aſſembly was full and frequent according to ſummons; but *Godwin* miſtruſting his own cauſe, or the violence of his adverſaries; with his two Sons, *Swane* and *Harold*, and a great power gatherd out of his own and his Sons Earldomes, which contein'd moſt of the South-Eaſt and Weſt parts of *England*, came no furder then *Beverſtan*, giving out that thir Forces were to go againſt the Welch, who intended an irruption into *Hereford-ſhire*; and *Swane* under that pretence lay with part of his Army thereabout. The Welch underſtanding this device, and with all diligence clearing themſelves before the King, leſt *Godwin* detected of falſe accuſation in great hatred to all the Aſſembly. *Leofric* therfore and *Siward* Dukes of great power, the former in *Mercia*, the other in all parts beyond *Humber*, both ever faithfull to the King, ſend privily with ſpeed to raiſe the Forces of thir Provinces. Which *Godwin* not knowing, ſent boldly to King *Edward*, demanding Count *Euſtace* and his followers together with thoſe *Boloigniens*, who as *Simeon* writes, held a Caſtle in the juriſdiction of *Canterbury*. The King as then having but little force at hand, entertain'd him a while with treaties and delays,

delays, till his ſummond Army drew nigh, then rejected his demands. *Godwin* thus match'd, commanded his Sons not to begin fight againſt the King; begun with, not to give ground. The Kings Forces were the flower of thoſe Counties whence they
Sim. Dun. came, and eager to fall on: But *Leofric* and the wiſer ſort deteſting civil War, brought the matter to this accord, that Hoſtages giv'n on either ſide, the whole cauſe ſhould be again debated at *London*. Thether the King and Lords coming with thir Army, ſent to *Godwin* and his Sons (who with thir powers were come as far as *Southwarke*) commanding thir appearance unarm'd with only 12 attendants, and that the reſt of thir Souldiers they ſhould deliver over to the King. They to appear without pledges before an adverſe faction deny'd; but to diſmiſs thir Souldiers refus'd not, nor in ought elſe to obey the King as far as might ſtand with honour and the juſt regard of thir ſafety. This anſwer not pleaſing the King, an edict was preſently iſſu'd forth, that *Godwin* and his Sons within five days depart the Land. He who perceav'd now his numbers to diminiſh, readily obey'd, and with his Wife and three Sons, *Toſti*, *Swane*, and *Gyrtha*, with as much treaſure as thir Ship could carry, embarking at *Thorney*, ſail'd into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, whoſe Daughter *Judith Toſti* had married: for *Wulnod* his fourth Son was then hoſtage to the King in *Normandy*; his other two, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, taking Ship at *Briſtow*, in a Veſſel that lay ready there belonging to *Swane*, paſs'd into *Ireland*. King *Edward* perſueing his diſpleaſure, divorc'd his Wife *Edith* Earl *Godwins* Daughter, ſending her deſpoil'd of all her Ornaments to *Warewel* with one waiting Maid,

Maid, to be kept in cuſtody by his Siſter the Abbeſs there. His reaſon of ſo doing was as harſh as his act, that ſhe only, while her neereſt relations were in baniſhment, might not, though innocent, enjoy eaſe at home. After this, *William* Duke of *Normandy* with a great number of followers coming into *England*, was by King *Edward* honorably entertain'd and led about the Cities, and Caſtles, as it were to ſhew him what ere long was to be his own (though at that time, ſaith *Ingulf*, no mention thereof paſs'd between them) then after ſome time of his abode heer, preſented richly and diſmiſs'd, he return'd home. The next year Queen *Emma* dy'd, and was buried at *Wincheſter*. The Chronicle attributed to *John Bromton* a *Yorkſhire* Abbot, but rather of ſome nameleſs Author living under *Edward* the 3*d*. or later, reports that the year before, by *Robert* the Archbiſhop ſhe was accus'd both of conſenting to the Death of her Son *Alfred*, and of prepareing poyſon for *Edward* alſo; laſtly of too much familiarity with *Alwin* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; that to approve her innocence, praying over-night to St. *Swithun*, ſhe offerd to paſs blindfold between certain Plow-ſhares red hot, according to the Ordalian Law, which without harm ſhe perform'd; that the King therupon receav'd her to honour, and from her and the Biſhop, penance for his credulity; that the Archbiſhop aſham'd of his accuſation fled out of *England:* which beſides the ſilence of antienter Authors (for the Biſhop fled not till a year after) brings the whole ſtory into ſuſpition, in this more probable, if it can be proov'd, that in memory of this deliverance from the nine burning Plowſhares, Queen *Emma* gave to the Abbey of St. *Swithune*

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Swithune nine Mannors, and Biſhop *Alwin* other nine. About this time *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales* waſted *Hereſordſhire*; to oppoſe whom the people of that Country with many Normans, garriſond in the Caſtle of *Hereford*, went out in Armes, but were put to the worſe, many ſlain, and much booty driv'n away by the Welch. Soon after which, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, Sons of *Godwin*, coming into *Severn* with many Ships, in the Confines of *Somerſet* and *Dorſet-ſhire*, ſpoil'd many Villages, and reſiſted by thoſe of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire*, ſlew in fight more then 30 of thir principal men, many of the common ſort, and return'd with much booty to thir Fleet. King *Edward* on the other ſide made ready above 60 Ships at *Sandwich* well ſtor'd with men and proviſion, under the conduct of *Odo* and *Radulf* two of his Norman Kindred, enjoyning them to find out *Godwin*, whom he heard to be at Sea. To quick'n them, he himſelf lay on ſhip-broad, oft-times watch'd and ſail'd up and down in ſearch of thoſe Pirats. But *Godwin*, whether in a miſt, or by other accident, paſſing by them, arriv'd in another part of *Kent*, and diſperſing ſecret meſſengers abroad, by fair words allur'd the cheif men of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, and *Eſſex* to his party; which news coming to the Kings fleet at *Sandwich*, they haſted to find him out; but miſſing of him again, came up without effect to *London*. *Godwin* advertisd of this, forthwith ſail'd to the Ile of *Wight*; where at length his two ſons *Harold* and *Leofwin* finding him, with thir united Navy lay on the coaſt, forbearing other hoſtility then to furniſh themſelves with freſh victual from Land as they needed. Thence as one fleet they ſet forward to *Sandwich*, uſing all fair means by the way to encreaſe thir numbers

Malmſ.

numbers both of Mariners and Souldiers. The King then at *London*, ſtartl'd at theſe tydings, gave ſpeedy order to raiſe Forces in all parts which had not revolted from him; but now too late, for *Godwin* within a few days after with his Ships or Gallies came up the River *Thames* to *Southwark*, and till the tide return'd had conference with the *Londoners*; whom by fair ſpeeches, for he was held a good Speaker in thoſe times, he brought to his bent. The tide returning, and none upon the Bridge hindring, he row'd up in his Gallies along the South bank; where his Land-army, now come to him, in array of battel ſtood on the ſhore, then turning toward the North ſide of the River, where the Kings Gallies lay in ſome readineſs, and Land-forces alſo not far off, he made ſhew as offring to fight; but they underſtood one another, and the ſouldiers on either ſide ſoon declar'd thir reſolution not to fight *Engliſh* againſt *Engliſh*. Thence coming to treaty, the King and the Earl reconcil'd, both armies were diſſolv'd, *Godwin* and his ſons reſtor'd to their former dignities, except *Swane*, who touch't in conſcience for the ſlaughter of *Beorn* his kinſman, was gone bare-foot to *Jeruſalem*, and returning home, dy'd by ſickneſs or *Saracens* in *Lycia*; his wife *Edith*, *Godwins* daughter, King *Edward* took to him again, dignify'd as before. Then were the *Normans*, who had done many unjuſt things under the Kings authority, and giv'n him ill counſel againſt his people, baniſh't the Realm, ſome of them not blameable permitted to ſtay. *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *William* of *London*, *Ulf* of *Lincoln*, all *Normans*, hardly eſcaping with thir followers, got to Sea. The Archbiſhop went with his complaint to *Rome*; but returning, dy'd in *Normandy* at the ſame

Monaſtery from whence he came. *Osbern* and *Hugh* ſurrender'd thir Caſtles, and by permiſſion of *Leofric* paſs'd through his Counties with thir *Normans* to
1053. *Macbeth* King of *Scotland*. The year following *Rheſe*
Sim. Dun. brother to *Griffin*, Prince of South *Wales*, who by inrodes had done much damage to the *Engliſh* tak'n at *Bulendun*, was put to death by the Kings appointment, and his head brought to him at *Gloſter*. The ſame year at *Wincheſter* on the ſecond holy-day of *Eaſter*, Earl *Godwin* ſitting with the King at table, ſunk down ſuddenly in his ſeat as dead: his three ſons *Harold*, *Toſti*, and *Gyrtha*, forthwith carried him into the Kings Chamber, hoping he might revive: but the malady had ſo ſeis'd him, that the fifth day after he expir'd. The *Normans* who hated *Godwin* give out, ſaith *Malmsbury*, that mention happ'ning to be made of *Elfred*, and the King thereat looking ſowerly upon *Godwin*, he to vindicate himſelf, utter'd theſe words, Thou, O King, at every mention made of thy brother *Elfred*, look'ſt frowningly upon me: but let God not ſuffer me to ſwallow this morſel, if I be guilty of ought done againſt his life or thy advantage; that after theſe words, choak't with the morſel tak'n, he ſunk down and recover'd not. His firſt wife was the ſiſter of *Canute*, a woman of much infamy for the trade ſhe drove of buying up *Engliſh* Youths and Maids to ſell in *Denmarke*, whereof ſhe made great gain; but ere long was ſtruck with thun-
1054. der, and dy'd. The year enſuing, *Siward* Earl of
Sim. Dun. *Northumberland*, with a great number of horſe and foot, attended alſo by a ſtrong fleet at the Kings appointment, made an expedition into *Scotland*, vanquiſh't the Tyrant *Macbeth*, ſlaying many thouſands of *Scots* with thoſe *Normans* that went thether, and plac'd

plac'd *Malcolm* Son of the *Cumbrian* King in his ſtead; yet not without loſs of his own Son, and many other both Engliſh and Danes. Told of his Sons Death, he aſk'd whether he receav'd his Deaths wound before or behind? when it was anſwerd before, I am glad, ſaith hee; and ſhould not elſe have thought him, though my Son, worthy of Burial. In the mean while King *Edward* being without Iſſue to ſucceed him, ſent *Aldred* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* with great preſents to the Emperour, entreating him to prevail with the King of *Hungary*, that *Edward* the remaining Son of his Brother *Edmund Ironſide*, might be ſent into *England*. *Siward* but one year ſurviving his great Victory, dy'd at *Yorke*; reported by *Huntingdon* a man of Giant-like ſtature, & by his own demeanour at point of Death manifeſted, of a rough and meer ſouldierly mind. For much diſdaining to die in bed by a diſeaſe, not in the field fighting with his enemies, he caus'd himſelf compleatly arm'd, and weapon'd with battel-ax and ſhield to be ſet in a chair, whether to fight with death, if he could be ſo vain, or to meet him (when far other weapons and preparations were needful) in a Martial bravery; but true fortitude glories not in the feats of War, as they are ſuch, but as they ſerve to end War ſooneſt by a victorious Peace. His Earldom the King beſtow'd on *Toſti* the Son of Earl *Godwin*: and ſoon after in a Convention held at *London*, baniſh't without viſible cauſe, *Huntingdon* ſaith for treaſon, *Algar* the Son of *Leofric*; who paſſing into *Ireland*, ſoon return'd with eighteen ſhips to *Griffin* Prince of South *Wales*, requeſting his aid againſt King *Edward*. He aſſembling his Powers, enter'd with him into *Hereford-ſhire*; whom *Radulf* a timorous

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1055. *Sim. Dun.*

Captain, Son to the Kings Siſter, not by *Euſtace*, but a former husband, met two miles diſtant from *Hereford*; and having hors'd the *Engliſh* who knew better to fight on foot, without ſtroke he with his *French* and *Normans* beginning to flie, taught the *Engliſh* by his example. *Griffin* and *Algar* following the chaſe, ſlew many, wounded more, enter'd *Hereford*, ſlew ſeven Canons defending the Minſter, burnt the Monaſterie and Reliques, then the City; killing ſome, leading captive others of the Citizens, return'd with great ſpoils; whereof King *Edward* having notice, gather'd a great Army at *Gloſter* under the conduct of *Harold* now Earl of *Kent*; who ſtrenuouſly purſuing *Griffin*, enter'd *Wales*, and encamp'd beyond *Straddale*. But the enemy flying before him farther into the Country, leaving there the greater part of his Army with ſuch as had charge to fight, if occaſion were offer'd, with the reſt he return'd, and fortifi'd *Hereford* with a wall and gates. Mean while *Griffin* and *Algar* dreading the diligence of *Harold*, after many meſſages to and fro, concluded a Peace with him. *Algar* diſcharging his fleet with pay at Weſt *Cheſter*, came to the King, and was reſtor'd to his Earldom.

1056. *Sim. Dun.* But *Griffin* with breach of faith, the next year ſet upon *Leofgar* the Biſhop of *Hereford* and his Clerks then at a place call'd *Glaſtbrig* with *Agelwoth* Vicount of the ſhire, and ſlew them; but *Leofric*, *Harold*, and King *Edward* by force, as is likelieſt, though it be not ſaid how, reduc'd him to Peace. The next year

1057. *Sim. Dun.* *Edward* Son of *Edmund Ironſide*, for whom his Uncle King *Edward* had ſent to the Emperour, came out of *Hungary*, deſign'd Succeſſor to the Crown; but within a few days after his coming dy'd at *London*, leaving behind him *Edgar Atheling* his Son, *Margaret* and *Chriſtina*

Chriſtina his Daughters. About the ſame time alſo dy'd Earl *Leofric* in a good old age, a man of no leſs vertue then power in his time, religious, prudent, and faithful to his Country, happily wedded to *Godiva* a woman of great praiſe. His Son *Algar* found leſs favour with King *Edward*, again baniſh't the year after his Fathers death; but he again by the aid of *Griffin* and a fleet from *Norway*, maugre the King, ſoon recover'd his Earldom. The next year *Malcolm* King of *Scots* coming to viſit King *Edward*, was brought on his way by *Toſti* the *Northumbrian* Earl, to whom he ſwore brotherhood: yet the next year but one, while *Toſti* was gone to *Rome* with *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York* for his Pall, this ſworn brother taking advantage of his abſence, roughly harraſs'd *Northumberland*. The year paſſing to an end without other matter of moment, ſave the frequent inrodes and robberies of *Griffin*, whom no bonds of faith could reſtrain, King *Edward* ſent againſt him after *Chriſtmas Harold* now Duke of Weſt-Saxons with no great body of Horſe from *Gloſter*, where he then kept his Court, whoſe coming heard of, *Griffin* not daring to abide, nor in any part of his Land holding himſelf ſecure, eſcap't hardly by Sea, ere *Harold* coming to *Rudeland*, burnt his Palace and Ships there, returning to *Gloſter* the ſame day: But by the middle of *May* ſetting out with a fleet from *Briſtow*, he ſail'd about the moſt part of *Wales*, and met by his brother *Toſti* with many Troops of Horſe, as the King had appointed, began to waſte the Country; but the *Welch* giving pledges, yeilded themſelves, promis'd to become tributary, and baniſh *Griffin* thir Prince; who lurking ſomewhere, was the next year tak'n and ſlain by *Griffin* Prince of North *Wales*; his head with

1058. *Sim. Dun.*

1059. *Sim. Dun.*

1061. *Sim. Dun.*

1062. *Sim. Dun.*

1063. *Sim. Dun.*

1064. *Sim. Dun.*

with the head and tackle of his Ship ſent to *Harold*, by him to the King, who of his gentleneſs made *Blechgent* and *Rithwallon* or *Rivallon* his two Brothers Princes in his ſtead; they to *Harold* in behalf of the King ſwore fealty and tribute. Yet the next year *Harold* having built a fair houſe at a place call'd *Portaſcith* in *Monmouth-ſhire*, and ſtor'd it with proviſion, that the King might lodge there in time of hunting, *Caradoc* the Son of *Griffin* ſlain the year before, came with a number of men, ſlew all he found there, and took away the proviſion. Soon after which the *Northumbrians* in a tumult at *York*, beſet the Palace of *Toſti* their Earl, ſlew more then 200 of his Souldiers and Servants, pillag'd his Treaſure, and put him to flie for his life. The cauſe of this inſurrection they alledg'd to be, for that the Queen *Edith* had commanded in her Brother *Toſti*'s behalf, *Goſpatric* a noble man of that Country to be treacherouſly ſlain in the Kings Court; and that *Toſti* himſelf the year before with like treachery had caus'd to be ſlain in his Chamber *Gamel* and *Ulf* two other of thir noble men, beſides his intolerable exactions and oppreſſions. Then in a manner the whole Country coming up to complain of their grievances, met with *Harold* at *Northampton*, whom the King at *Toſti*'s requeſt had ſent to pacifie the *Northumbrians*; but they laying op'n the cruelty of his Government, and thir own birth-right of freedom not to endure the tyranny of any Governour whatſoever, with abſolute refuſal to admit him again, and *Harold* hearing reaſon, all the complices of *Toſti* were expell'd the Earldom. He himſelf baniſh't the Realm, went in *Flanders*; *Morcar* the Son of *Algar* made Earl in his ſtead. *Huntingdon* tells another cauſe of *Toſti*'s baniſhment, that

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one

one day at *Windſor*, while *Harold* reach'd the Cup to King *Edward*, *Toſti* envying to ſee his younger Brother in greater favour then himſelf, could not forbear to run furiouſly upon him, and catching hold of his Hair, the ſcuffle was ſoon parted by other attendants ruſhing between, and *Toſti* forbidd'n the Court. He with continu'd fury rideing to *Hereford*, where *Harold* had many Servants, preparing an entertainment for the King, came to the Houſe and ſet upon them with his followers; then lopping off Hands, Armes, Legs of ſome, Heads of others, threw them into Butts of Wine, Meath, or Ale, which were laid in for the Kings drinking: and at his going away charg'd them to ſend him this word, that of other freſh meats he might bring with him to his Farm what he pleas'd, but of Sowce he ſhould find plenty provided ready for him: that for this barbarous Act the King pronounc't him baniſh'd; that the Northumbrians taking advantage at the Kings diſpleaſure and ſentence againſt him, roſe alſo to be reveng'd of his cruelties done to themſelves; but this no way agrees, for why then ſhould *Harold* or the King ſo much labour with the Northumbrians to re-admit him, if he were a baniſh'd man for his Crimes done before? About this time it happ'nd that *Harold* putting to Sea one day for his pleaſure, in a Fiſher Boat, from his Mannor at *Boſeham* in *Suſſex*, caught with a Tempeſt too far off land, was carried into *Normandy*; and by the Earl of *Pontieu*, on whoſe Coaſt he was driv'n, at his own requeſt brought to Duke *William*, who entertaining him with great courteſie, ſo far won him, as to promiſe the Duke by Oath of his own accord, not only the Caſtle of *Dover* then in his tenure, *Malmſ.*

nure, but the Kingdome alſo after King *Edwards* Death to his utmoſt endeavour, therupon betrothing the Dukes Daughter then too young for marriage, and departing richly preſented. Others ſay, that King *Edward* himſelf after the Death of *Edward* his Nephew, ſent *Harold* thether, on purpoſe to acquaint Duke *William* with his intention to bequeath him his Kingdom: but *Malmsbury* accounts the former ſtory to be the truer. *Ingulf* writes, that King *Edward* now grown old, and perceaving *Edgar* his Nephew both in body and mind unfit to govern, eſpecially againſt the pride and inſolence of *Godwins* Sons, who would never obey him; Duke *William* on the other ſide of high merit, and his Kinſman by the Mother, had ſent *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to acquaint the Duke of his purpoſe, not long before *Harold* came thether. The former part may be true, that King *Edward* upon ſuch conſiderations had ſent one or other; but Archbiſhop *Robert* was fled the land, and dead many years before. *Eadmer* and *Simeon* write, that *Harold* went of his own accord into *Normandy*, by the Kings permiſſion or connivence, to get free his Brother *Wulnod* and Nephew *Hacun* the Son of *Swane*, whom the King had tak'n hoſtages of *Godwin* and ſent into *Normandy*; that King *Edward* foretold *Harold*, his journey thether would be to the detriment of all *England* and his own reproach; that Duke *William* then acquainted *Harold*, how *Edward* ere his coming to the Crown had promisd, if ever he attain'd it, to leave Duke *William* Succeſſor after him. Laſt of theſe *Mathew Paris* writes, that *Harold* to get free of Duke *William*, affirm'd his coming thether not to have been by accident or force of Tempeſt,

Leges Ed. Conf. Tit. Lex Noricor.

peſt, but on ſet purpoſe, in that privat manner to enter with him into ſecret confederacie; ſo variouſly are theſe things reported. After this King *Edward* grew ſickly, yet as he was able kept his *Chriſtmas* at *London*, and was at the Dedication of St. *Peters* Church in *Weſtminſter*, which he had rebuilt; but on the Eve of *Epiphanie*, or *Twelfſtide*, deceas'd much lamented, and in the Church was Entoomb'd. That he was harmleſs and ſimple, is conjecturd by his words in anger to a Peaſant who had croſs'd his Game (for with Hunting and Hawking he was much delighted) by God and Gods Mother, ſaid hee, I ſhall do you as ſhrew'd a turn if I can; obſerving that Law-Maxim, the beſt of all his Succeſſors, that the King of *England* can do no wrong. The ſoftneſs of his Nature gave growth to factions of thoſe about him, Normans eſpecially and Engliſh; theſe complaining that *Robert* the Archbiſhop was a ſower of diſſention between the King and his people, a traducer of the Engliſh; the other ſide, that *Godwin* and his Sons bore themſelves arrogantly and proudly towards the King, uſurping to themſelves equall ſhare in the Government; oft-times making ſport with his ſimplicity, that through thir power in the land, they made no ſcruple to kill men of whoſe inheritance they took a likeing, and ſo to take poſſeſſion. The truth is, that *Godwin* and his Sons did many things boiſtrouſly and violently, much againſt the Kings minde; which not able to reſiſt, he had, as ſome ſay, his Wife *Edith Godwins* Daughter in ſuch averſation, as in bed never to have touch'd her; whether for this cauſe or miſtak'n Chaſtitie, not commendable; to enquire further is not material. His Laws held good and juſt, and

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Huntingd.

long after deſir'd by the Engliſh of thir Norman Kings, are yet extant. He is ſaid to be at Table not exceſſive, at Feſtivals nothing puft up with the coſtly Robes he wore, which his Queen with curious Art had woven for him in Gold. He was full of Alms-deeds, and exhorted the Monks to like Charitie. He is ſaid to be the firſt of Engliſh Kings that cur'd the Diſeaſe call'd thence the Kings Evil; yet *Malmsbury* blames them who attribute that Cure to his Royaltie, not to his Sanctitie; ſaid alſo to have cur'd certain blinde men with the water wherin he had waſh'd his hands. A little before his Death, lying ſpeechleſs two days, the third day after a deep ſleep, he was heard to pray, that if it were a true Viſion, not an Illuſion which he had ſeen, God would give him ſtrength to utter it, otherwiſe not. Then he related how he had ſeen two devout Monks, whom he knew in *Normandy*, to have liv'd and dy'd well, who appearing told him they were ſent Meſſengers from God to foretell, that becauſe the great ones of *England*, Dukes, Lords, Biſhops, and Abbots, were not Miniſters of God but of the Devil, God had deliverd the Land to thir Enemies; and when he deſir'd that he might reveal this Viſion, to the end they might repent, it was anſwerd; they neither will repent, neither will God pardon them; at this relation others trembling, *Stigand* the Simonious Archbiſhop, whom *Edward* much to blame had ſufferd many years to ſit Primate in the Church, is ſaid to have laugh't, as at the feavouriſh Dream of a doteing old man; but the event prov'd it true.

Harold

Harold Son of Earl *Godwin*.

Harold, whether by King *Edward* a little before his Death ordain'd Succeſſor to the Crown, as *Simeon* of *Durham*, and others affirm; or by the prevalence of his faction, excluding *Edgar* the right Heir, Grandchild to *Edmund Ironſide*, as *Malmsbury* and *Huntingdon* agree, no ſooner was the Funeral of King *Edward* ended, but on the ſame day was elected and Crown'd King: and no ſooner plac't in the Throne, but began to frame himſelf by all manner of compliances to gain affection, endeavour'd to make good Laws, repeal'd bad, became a great Patron to Church and Church-men, courteous and affable to all reputed good, a hater of evill doers, charg'd all his Officers to puniſh Theeves, Robbers, and all diſturbers of the peace, while he himſelf by Sea and Land labourd in the defence of his Country: ſo good an actor is ambition. *Hoved.* *Florent.*

In the mean while a blazing Star, 7 Mornings together, about the end of *April*, was ſeen to ſtream terribly, not only over *England*, but other parts of the World; foretelling heer, as was thought, the great changes approaching: plainlieſt prognoſticated by *Elmer* a Monk of *Malmsbury*, who could not foreſee, when time was, the breaking of his own Leggs for ſoaring too high, he in his youth ſtrangely aſpiring, had made and fitted Wings to his Hands and Feet; with theſe on the top of a Tower, ſpread out to gather air, he flew more then a Furlong; but the wind being too high, came fluttering down, to the maiming of all his Limbs; yet ſo conceited of his Art, that he attributed the cauſe of

his fall to the want of a Tail, as Birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This ſtory, though ſeeming otherwiſe too light in the midſt of a ſad narration, yet for the ſtrangneſs therof, I thought worthy anough the placeing as I found it plac't in my Authour. But to digreſs no farder, *Toſti* the Kings Brother coming from *Flanders*, full of envy at his younger Brothers advancement to the Crown, reſolv'd what he might to trouble his Reign; forcing therſore them of *Wight Ile* to contribution, he ſail'd thence to *Sandwich*, committing Piracies on the Coaſt between. *Harold* then reſiding at *London*, with a great number of Ships drawn together, and of Horſe Troops by Land, prepares in perſon for *Sandwich*: wherof *Toſti* having notice, directs his courſe with 60 Ships towards *Lindſey*, taking with him all the Sea-men he found, willing or unwilling: where he burnt many Villages, and ſlew many of the Inhabitants; but *Edwin* the *Mercian* Duke, and *Morcar* his Brother, the *Northumbrian* Earl, with thir Forces on either ſide, ſoon drove him out of the Country. Who thence betook him to *Malcolm* the Scottiſh King, and with him abode the whole Summer. About the ſame time Duke *William* ſending Embaſſadors to admoniſh *Harold* of his promiſe and Oath, to aſſiſt him in his Plea to the Kingdom, he made anſwer, that by the death of his Daughter betroth'd to him on that condition, he was abſolv'd of his Oath, or not Dead, he could not take her now an out-landiſh woman, without conſent of the Realm; that it was preſumptuouſly done and not to be perſiſted in, if without conſent or knowledge of the States, he had ſworn away the right of the Kingdome; that what

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he ſwore was to gain his liberty, being in a manner then his Priſner; that it was unreaſonable in the Duke to require or expect of him the foregoing of a Kingdome, conferr'd upon him with univerſal favour and acclamation of the people: to this flat deniall he added contempt, ſending the Meſſengers back, ſaith *Mathew Paris*, on maim'd Horſes. The Duke thus contemptuouſly put off, addreſſes himſelf to the Pope, ſetting forth the Juſtice of his cauſe, which *Harold*, whether through haughtineſs of mind, or diſtruſt, or that the ways to *Rome* were ſtop'd, ſought not to do. Duke *William*, beſides the promiſe and Oath of *Harold*, alleg'd that King *Edward* by the advice of *Seward*, *Godwin* himſelf, and *Stigand* the Archbiſhop, had giv'n him the right of ſucceſſion, and had ſent him the Son and Nephew of *Godwin*, pledges of the guift; the Pope ſent to Duke *William*, after this demonſtration of his right, a conſecrated Banner. Wherupon he having with great care and choice got an Army of tall and ſtout Souldiers, under Captains of great ſkill and mature Age, came in *Auguſt* to the Port of St. *Valerie*. Mean while *Harold* from *London* comes to *Sandwich*, there expecting his Navy; which alſo coming, he ſails to the Ile of *Wight*; and having heard of Duke *William*'s preparations and readineſs to invade him, kept good watch on the Coaſt, and Foot Forces every where in fit places to guard the ſhoar. But ere the middle of *September*, proviſion failing when it was moſt needed, both Fleet and Army return home. When on a ſudden, *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, with a Navy of more then 500 great Ships, (others leſs'n them by two hunderd, others augment them to a thouſand) appears *Malmſ.* *Mathew Paris.*

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at the mouth of *Tine*; to whom Earl *Toſti* with his Ships came as was agreed between them; whence both uniting, ſet ſail with all ſpeed and enterd the River *Humber*. Thence turning into *Ouſe*, as far as *Rical*, landed; and won *Yorke* by aſſault. At theſe tideings *Harold* with all his power haſts thetherward; but ere his coming, *Edwin* and *Morcar* at *Fulford* by *Yorke*, on the North ſide of *Ouſe*, about the Feaſt of St. *Mathew* had giv'n them Battel; ſucceſsfully at firſt, but over-born at length with numbers; and forc't to turn thir backs, more of them periſh'd in the River, then in the Fight. The Norwegians taking with them 500 Hoſtages out of *Yorke*, and leaving there 150 of thir own, retir'd to thir Ships. But the fift day after, King *Harold* with a great and well appointed Army, coming to *York*, and at *Stamford*-Bridge, or *Battell*-Bridge on *Darwent*, aſſailing the Norwegians, after much blood-ſhed on both ſides, cut off the greateſt part of them with *Harfager* thir King, and *Toſti* his own Brother. But *Olave* the Kings Son, and *Paul* Earl of *Orkney*, left with many Souldiers to guard the Ships, ſurrendring themſelvès with Hoſtages and Oath giv'n never to return as Enemies, he ſufferd freely to depart with 20 Ships and the ſmall remnant of thir Army. One man of the Norwegians is not to be forgott'n, who with incredible valour keeping the Bridge a long hour againſt the whole Engliſh Army, with his ſingle reſiſtance delai'd thir Victorie; and ſcorning offerd life, till in the end no man dareing to graple with him, either dreaded as too ſtrong, or contemn'd as one deſperate, he was at length ſhot dead with an Arrow; and by his fall op'nd the paſſage of perſuit to a compleat Victorie.

Camd.

Malmſ.

Wherwith

Wherwith *Harold* lifted up in minde, and forgetting now his former ſhews of popularitie, defrauded his Souldiers thir due and well deſerved ſhare of the ſpoils. While theſe things thus paſt in *Northumberland*, Duke *William* lay ſtill at St. *Valerie*; his Ships were readie but the wind ſerv'd not for many days; which put the Souldierie into much diſcouragement and murmur, taking this for an unlucky ſign of thir ſucceſs; at laſt the wind came favourable, the Duke firſt under ſail awaited the reſt at Anchor, till all coming forth, the whole Fleet of 900 Ships with a proſperous gale arriv'd at *Haſtings*. At his going out of the Boat by a ſlip falling on his hands, to correct the Omen, a Souldier ſtanding by ſaid aloud, that thir Duke had tak'n poſſeſſion of *England*. Landed, he reſtrein'd his Army from waſt and ſpoil, ſaying, that they ought to ſpare what was thir own. But theſe are things related of *Alexander* and *Cæſar*, and I doubt thence borrow'd by the Monks to inlay thir ſtory. The Duke for 15 days after landing kept his men quiet within the Camp, having tak'n the Caſtle of *Haſtings*, or built a Fortreſs there. *Harold* ſecure the while and proud of his new Victorie, thought all his Enemies now under foot: but ſitting jollily at dinner, news is brought him, that Duke *William* of *Normandy* with a great multitude of Horſe and Foot, Slingers and Archers, beſides other choice Auxiliaries which he had hir'd in *France*, was arriv'd at *Pevenſey*. *Harold* who had expected him all the Summer, but not ſo late in the year as now it was, for it was *October*; with his Forces much diminiſh't after two ſore conflicts and the departing of many others from him diſcontented, in great haſt marches to *London*. Thence not tarrying *Sim. Dun.*

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ing for ſupplies which were on thir way towards him, hurries into *Suſſex* (for he was always in haſt ſince the day of his Coronation) and ere the third part of his Army could be well put in order, findes the Duke about 9 mile from *Haſtings*, and now drawing nigh, ſent ſpies before him to ſurvey the ſtrength and number of his Enemies: them, diſcoverd ſuch, the Duke cauſing to be led about, and after well fill'd with meat and drink ſent back. They not over-wiſe, brought word that the Dukes Army were moſt of them Prieſts; for they ſaw thir faces all over ſhav'n; the Engliſh then uſeing to let grow on thir upper-lip large Muſtachio's, as did antiently the *Britans*. The King laughing anſwerd, that they were not Prieſts, but valiant and hardy Souldiers. Therefore ſaid *Girtha* his Brother, a youth of noble courage and underſtanding above his Age, Forbear thou thy ſelf to fight, who art obnoxious to Duke *William* by Oath, let us unſworn undergo the hazard of Battel, who may juſtly fight in the defence of our Country; thou reſerv'd to fitter time, maiſt either reunite us flying, or revenge us dead. The King not hark'ning to this, leaſt it might ſeem to argue fear in him or a bad cauſe, with like reſolution rejected the offers of Duke *William* ſent to him by a Monk before the Battel, with this only anſwer haſtily deliverd, let God judge between us. The offers were theſe, that *Harold* would either lay down the Scepter, or hold it of him, or try his title with him by ſingle Combate in the ſight of both Armies, or referr it to the Pope. Theſe rejected, both ſides prepar'd to fight the next morning, the Engliſh from ſinging and drinking all night, the Normans from confeſſion of thir

thir ſins and communion of the hoſt. The Engliſh were in a ſtreit diſadvantagious place, ſo that many diſcourag'd with thir ill ordering, ſcarſe having room where to ſtand, ſlip'd away before the onſet, the reſt in cloſe order with thir Battel-Axes and Shields, made an impenetrable Squadron: the King himſelf with his Brothers on foot ſtood by the Royal Standard, wherin the figure of a man fighting was inwov'n with gold and pretious Stones. The Norman Foot, moſt Bowmen, made the formoſt Front, on either ſide Wings of Horſe ſomewhat behind. The Duke Arming, and his Corſlet giv'n him on the wrong ſide, ſaid pleaſantly, *the ſtrength of my Dukedom will be turn'd now into a Kingdom.* Then the whole Army ſinging the Song of *Rowland*, the remembrance of whoſe exploits might hart'n them, imploring laſtly Divine help, the Battel began; and was fought ſorely on either ſide; but the main body of Engliſh Foot by no means would be brok'n, till the Duke cauſing his men to feign flight, drew them out with deſire of purſuit into op'n diſorder, then turn'd ſuddenly upon them ſo routed by themſelves, which wrought thir overthrow; yet ſo they dy'd not unmanfully, but turning oft upon thir Enemies, by the advantage of an upper ground, beat them down by heaps, and fill'd up a great Ditch with thir Careaſſes. Thus hung the Victory wavering on either ſide, from the third hour of day to Evening; when *Harold* having maintain'd the fight with unſpeakable courage and perſonal valour, ſhot into the head with an Arrow, fell at length, and left his Souldiers without heart longer to withſtand the unwearied Enemy. With *Harold* fell alſo his two Brothers,

Leofwin, and *Girtha*, with them greateſt part of the Engliſh Nobility. His Body lying dead a Knight or Souldier wounding on the thigh, was by the Duke preſently turn'd out of military ſervice. Of Normans and French were ſlain no ſmall number; the Duke himſelf alſo that day not a little hazarded his perſon, having had three choice Horſes kill'd under him. Victory obtain'd, and his dead carefully buried, the Engliſh alſo by permiſſion, he ſent the body of *Harold* to his mother without ranſom, though ſhe offerd very much to redeem it, which having receav'd, ſhe buried at *Waltham*, in a Church built there by *Harold*. In the mean while, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who had withdrawn themſelves from *Harold*, hearing of his Death, came to *London*; ſending *Aldgith* the Queen thir Siſter with all ſpeed to *Weſt-Cheſter*. *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, and many of the Nobles, with the *Londoners* would have ſet up *Edgar* the right Heir, and prepar'd themſelves to fight for him; but *Morcar* and *Edwin* not likeing the choice, who each of them expected to have been chos'n before him, withdrew thir Forces and re-
Sim. Dun. turn'd home. Duke *William* contrary to his former reſolution, if *Florent* of *Worſter*, and they who follow him ſay true, waſting, burning, and ſlaying all in his way, or rather, as ſaith *Malmsbury*, not in hoſtile but in regal manner came up to *London*, met at *Barcham* by *Edgar*, with the Nobles, Biſhops, Citizens, and at length *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who all ſubmitted to him, gave hoſtages, and ſwore fidelity, he to them promis'd peace and defence; yet permitted his men the while to burn and make prey. Coming to *London* with all his Army, he was on *Chriſtmaſs*

Chriſtmaſs day ſollemly Crown'd in the great Church at *Weſtminſter*, by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, having firſt giv'n his Oath at the Altar in preſence of all the people, to defend the Church, well govern the people, maintain right Law; prohibit rapine and unjuſt judgment. Thus the Engliſh, while they agreed not about the choice of thir native King, were conſtrein'd to take the Yoke of an out-landiſh Conquerer. With what minds and by what courſe of life they had fitted themſelves for this ſervitude, *William* of *Malmsbury* ſpares not to lay op'n. Not a few years before the Normans came, the Clergy, though in *Edward* the Confeſſors daies, had loſt all good literature and Religion, ſcarſe able to read and underſtand thir Latin Service: he was a miracle to others who knew his Grammar. The Monks went clad in fine ſtuffs, and made no difference what they eat; which though in it ſelf no fault, yet to their Conſciences was irreligious. The great men giv'n to gluttony and diſſolute life, made a prey of the common people, abuſeing thir Daughters whom they had in ſervice, then turning them off to the Stews, the meaner ſort tipling together night and day, ſpent all they had in Drunk'neſs, attended with other Vices which effeminate mens minds. Whence it came to paſs, that carried on with fury and raſhneſs more then any true fortitude or ſkill of War, they gave to *William* thir Conquerour ſo eaſie a Conqueſt. Not but that ſome few of all ſorts were much better among them; but ſuch was the generality. *And as the long ſuffering of God permits bad men to enjoy proſperous daies with the good, ſo his ſeverity oft times exempts not good men from thir ſhare in evil times with the bad.*

If these were the Causes of such misery and thraldom to those our Ancestors, with what better close can be concluded, then here in fit season to remember this Age in the midst of her security, to fear from like Vices without amendment the Revolutions of like Calamities.

FINIS.

AN

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Boadicia *the Wife of* Praſutagus, *together with her Daughters, abus'd by the* Roman *Souldiers.* p. 62. *commands in Chief in the Brittiſh Army againſt the* Romans. p. 65. *vanquiſh'd by* Suetonius, *is thought to have poiſon'd her ſelf.* p. 67.

Bonoſus *a Britan by deſcent, indeavouring to make himſelf Emperour, but vanquiſht by* Probus, *hangs himſelf.* p. 84. 85.

Brennus *and* Belinus *the Sons of* Dunwallo Mulmutius *contend about the Kingdom.* p. 22. *after various conflicts they are reconcil'd by their Mother* Conuvenna. p. 23. *they turn their united Forces into Foreign parts, but* Belinus *returns and reigns long in Peace.* p. 23. 24.

Britain *the Hiſtory of the affairs thereof altogether obſcure and uncertain till the coming of* Julius Cæſar.

ſar. p. 2. *by whom firſt peopled.* p. 4. *nam'd firſt* Samothea *from* Samothes, *ibid. next* Albion, *and from whence.* p. 4. 5.

Britans *ſtoutly oppoſe* Cæſar *at his landing in this Iſland.* p. 36. 37. *they offer him terms of Peace.* p. 38. *their manner of fighting.* p. 39. 40. *they are defeated by* Cæſar *and brought anew to terms of Peace.* p. 40. *a ſharp diſpute between the* Britans *and the* Romans, *near the* Stowr *in* Kent. p. 42. 43. *their Nature and Cuſtoms.* p. 48. 49. *their cruel Maſſacre upon the* Romans. p. 64. *they are acquitted of the Roman juriſdiction by the Emperour* Honorius, *not able to defend them againſt their Enemies.* p. 97. *they again ſupplicate* Honorius *for aid, who ſpares them a* Roman *Legion.* p. 101. *and again at their renew'd requeſt a new ſupply.* ibid. *their ſubmiſſive Letters to* Ætius *the Roman Conſul.* p. 106. *their Luxury and wickedneſs, and the corruption of their Clergy.* p. 107. 129. 130. *their Embaſſy to the Saxons for their aid againſt the* Scots *and* Picts, *with the Saxons anſwer.* p. 110. 111. *Miſerably harraſs'd by the Saxons whom they call'd in.* p. 113. 114. *routed by* Kerdic. p. 120. *by* Kenric *and* Keaulin. p. 127. 133. *by* Cuthulf. p. 132. *they totally vanquiſh* Keaulin. p. 134. *they are put to flight by* Kenwalk. p. 161.

Britto, *nam'd among the four Sons of* Hiſtion, *ſprung of* Japhet, *and from him the* Britans *ſaid to be deriv'd.* p. 5.

Brutus, *ſaid to be deſcended from* Æneas *a Trojan Prince.* p. 7. *retiring into* Greece *after having unfortunately kill'd his Father, he delivers his Countrymen from the Bondage of* Pandraſus. p. 7. 8. &c. *marries* Innogen *the eldeſt Daughter of* Pandraſus.

draſus. p. 10. *he lands upon a deſert Iſland call'd* Leogicia, p. 10. *where he conſults the Oracle of* Diana. p. 11. *meets with* Corineus. p. 12. *overcomes* Goſſarius Pictus. p. 12. 13. *arrives in this Iſland.* p. 13. *builds* Troja Nova. p. 14.

Brutus *ſirnamed* Greenſhield, *ſucceeds* Ebranc *and gives Battel to* Brunchildis. p. 16.

Burhead *holding of* Ethelwolf *the* Mercian *Kingdom after* Bertulf, *reduceth the* North Welch *to obedience.* p. 194. *he marries* Ethelſwida *the Daughter of King* Ethelwolf. p. 195. *driven out of his Kingdom by the* Danes, *he flies to* Rome, *where dying he is buried in the Engliſh School.* p. 194. *his Kingdom let out by the* Danes *to* Kelwulf. ibid.

C.

CAdwallon, *ſee* Kedwalla.

Cæſar, *ſee* Julius Cæſar.

Cajus Sidius Geta *behaves himſelf valiantly againſt the* Britans. p. 53.

Cajus Voluſenus *ſent into* Britain *by* Cæſar *to make diſcovery of the Country and people.* p. 34.

Caligula *a Roman Emperour.* p. 51.

Camalodunum *or* Maldon *the chief ſeat of* Kymbeline. p. 51. *made a Roman Colony.* p. 56. 62. 63.

Camber *one of the Sons of* Brutus *hath allotted to him* Cambria *or* Wales. p. 14.

Canute *the Son of* Swane, *choſen King after his Father's Death by the* Daniſh *Army and Fleet.* p. 258. *is driven back to his Ships by* Ethelred. p. 259. *returns with a great Navy from* Denmark *accompanied*

nied with Lachman *King of* Sweden, *and* Olav *of* Norway. p. 259. 260. *after ſeveral conflicts with* Edmund, *he at length divides the Kingdom with him by agreement.* p. 265. *after* Edmunds *Death Reigns ſole King.* p. 267. *he endeavours the extirpation of the Saxon line.* p. 267. *he ſettles his Kingdom, and makes peace with the Princes round about him.* p. 268. *he cauſes* Edric, *whoſe treaſon he had made uſe of, to be ſlain, and his body to be thrown over the City Wall, &c.* ibid. *he ſubdues* Norway. p. 270. *takes a Voyage to* Rome, *and offring there rich gifts, vows amendment of life.* ibid. *he dies at* Shaftsbury, *and is buried at* Wincheſter. p. 271. *his cenſure.* p. 271. 272.

Capis *one in the Catalogue of the Ancient Kings.* p. 28.

Capoirus *another of the ſame number.* p. 28.

Caractacus *the youngeſt Son of* Cunobeline, *ſucceeds in the Kingdom.* p. 51. *is overthrown by* Aulus Plautius. p. 53. *heads the* Silures *againſt the Romans.* p. 56. 57. *is betray'd by* Cartiſmandua, *to whom he fled for refuge.* p. 57. *is ſent to* Rome. ibid. *his Speech to the Emperour.* p. 58. *by the braveneſs of his carriage he obtains pardon for himſelf and all his Company.* ibid.

Carauſius *grown rich with Piracy poſſeſſes himſelf of this Iſland.* p. 86. *he fortifies the Wall of* Severus. ibid. *in the midſt of the great preparations of* Conſtantius Chlorus *againſt him, he is ſlain by his friend* Alectus. p. 87.

Carinus *ſent by his Father* Carus *the Emperour to govern this Iſle of* Britain *is overcome and ſlain by* Diocleſian. p. 85.

Cartiſmandua *Queen of the* Brigantes, *delivers* Caractacus *bound to the* Romans. p. 57. *deſerts her Hus-*

Husband Venutius, *and gives both her ſelf and Kingdom to* Vellocatus *one of his Squires.* p. 60.
Carvilius *a petty King in* Britain *aſſaults the Roman Camp with three others.* p. 46.
Caſſibelaun *one of the Sons of* Heli, *gains the Kingdom by common conſent.* p. 29. *his generoſity to his Brothers Sons.* ibid. *he heads the* Britans *againſt* Julius Cæſar *and the* Romans. p. 45. *he is deſerted by the* Trinobantes, *and why.* p. 46. *he yields to* Cæſar. p. 47. *is reported to have had War with* Androgeus, *dies, and is buried at* York. ibid.
Cataracta *an ancient City in* Yorkſhire, *burnt by* Arnred *a Tyrant.*
Catellus *an ancient Brittiſh King.* p. 28.
Cerdic *a Saxon Prince lands at* Cerdic ſhore, *and overthrows the* Britans. p. 120. *deſeats their King* Natanleod *in a memorable Battel,* ibid. *founds the Kingdom of* Weſt-Saxons. p. 121. *ſee* Kerdic.
Cherin *an ancient Brittiſh King.* p. 28.
Chriſtian Faith *receiv'd in* Britain *by King* Lucius. p. 79. *ſaid to have been preach't by* Faganus *and* Deruvianus. p. 79. *others ſay long before by* Simon Zelotes, *or* Joſeph *of* Arimathæa. p. 80. *upon what occaſion preach't to the* Saxons. p. 137. 138.
Chryſanthus *the Son of* Marcianus *a Biſhop, made Deputy of* Britain *by* Theodoſius. p. 93.
Cingetorix *a petty King in* Britain, *aſſaults the Roman Camp.* p. 46. *is taken Priſoner by* Cæſar. p. 47.
Claudius *the Emperour is perſwaded by* Bericus, *though a Britan, to invade this Iſland.* p. 51. *he ſends* Aulus Plautius *hither with an Army.* p. 52. *he comes over himſelf and joins with* Plautius. p. 53. *deſeats the Britans in a ſet Battel, and takes* Camalodunum, p. 54. *he returns to* Rome, *leaving* Plau-

Plautius *behind.* ibid. *he hath exceſſive honours decreed him by the* Senate. ibid.
Cliguellius *an ancient Brittiſh King.* p. 28.
Clodius Albinus *ſucceeds* Pertinax *in the Government of* Britain *for the* Romans. p. 81. *he is vanquiſh'd and ſlain in a Battel againſt* Septimius Severus. p. 81.
Coilus *the Son of* Marius *leaves the Kingdom to* Lucius. p. 79.
Coillus *an ancient Britiſh King.* p. 28.
Comail *and two other Britiſh Kings ſlain by* Keaulin *and his Son* Cuthwin. p. 133.
Comius *of* Arras *ſent by* Cæſar *to make a party among the* Britans. p. 35.
Conſtans *of a Monk made a* Cæſars *reduce, all* Spain *to his Father* Conſtantius's *Obedience.* p. 95. *diſplacing* Gerontius *is oppos'd by him, and at laſt ſlain.* ibid.
Conſtantine *the Son of* Conſtantius Chlorus, *ſaluted Emperour after his Fathers Death.* p. 88. 89. *his Mother ſaid to be* Helena *the Daughter of* Coilus *a* Britiſh *Prince.* p. 89. *his eldeſt Son of the ſame name, enjoys among other Provinces of the Empire this Iſland alſo.* ibid. *a common Souldier of the ſame name ſaluted Emperour.* p. 95. *by the valour of* Oedebecus *and* Gerontius, *he gains in* France *as far as* Arles. ibid. *by the conduct of his Son* Conſtans, *and of* Gerontius, *he reduces all* Spain, ibid. Gerontius *diſplac't by him calls in the Vandals againſt him.* ibid. *beſeig'd by* Conſtantius Comes, *he turns Prieſt, is afterwards carried into* Italy, *and put to Death.* p. 96.
Conſtantine *the Son of* Cador *ſharply inveigh'd againſt by* Gildas. p. 131. *he is ſaid to have murder'd*

der'd two young Princes of the blood Royal. ibid.
Conſtantine *King of* Scotland *joining with the* Danes *and* Iriſh *under* Anlaf, *is overthrown by* Athelſtan. p. 225. 226.
Conſtantius Chlorus *ſent againſt* Carauſius. p. 86. *defeats* Alectus, *who is ſlain in the Battel.* p. 87. *is acknowledg'd by the* Britans *as their deliverer.* p. 88. *divides the Empire with* Galerius. ibid. *dies at* York. ibid.
Conſtantius *the Son of* Conſtantine *overcomes* Magnentius, *who conteſted with him for the ſole Empire.* p. 89.
Cordeilla's *ſincere anſwer to her Father begets his diſpleaſure.* p. 18. *ſhe is married to* Aganippus *a King in* Gaul. ibid. *ſhe receives her Father, rejected by his other Daughters, with moſt dutiful affection.* p. 19. *reſtores him to his Crown, and Reigns after him.* p. 20. *is vanquiſht, depos'd, and impriſon'd by her two Siſter's Sons.* ibid.
Corineus *a Trojan Commander, joins Forces with* Brutus. p. 12. *ſlaies* Imbertus. ibid. *arrives with* Brutus *in this Iſland.* p. 13. Cornwal *from him denominated falls to his Lot.* p. 14. *he overcomes the Giant* Goemagog. p. 14.
Crida, *the firſt of the* Mercian *Kingdom.* p. 133.
Cuichelm *the* Weſt-Saxon *ſends* Eumerus *a Swordman to aſſaſſin King* Edwin. p. 148. *is baptis'd in* Dorcheſter, *but dies the ſame year.* p. 155.
Cunedagius *the Son of* Regan *depoſeth his Aunt* Cordelia, p. 20. *ſhares the Kingdom with his Coſin* Marganus, *is invaded by him, meets him and overcomes him.* p. 20.
Cuneglas *a Britiſh King Reigns one of five a little before the Saxons were ſetled.* p. 131.

Cunobe-

Cunobeline, *ſee* Kymbeline.
Cutha *helps his Father* Keaulin *againſt* Ethelbert. p. 128.
Cuthred *King of* Weſt-Saxons *joyns with* Ethelbald *the* Mercian, *and gains a great victory over the* Welſh, p. 174. *he hath a fierce battel with* Ethelbald *the* Mercian, *which he not long ſurvives*, p. 175. *a King of* Kent *of the ſame name.* p. 185.
Cuthulf *the Brother of* Keaulin *vanquiſheth the* Britains *at* Bedanford, *and takes ſeveral Towns*, p. 132.
Cuthwin, *ſee* Keaulin.

D.

DAnes *firſt appear in the* Weſt, p. 179. *they ſlay the Kings Gatherers of Cuſtom*, ibid. *landing at* Lindisfarne *in* York-ſhire, *they pillage that Monaſtery, ſlay and captivate ſeveral both Fryars and others*, p. 181. *attempting to ſpoil another Monaſtery, they are cut off by the* Engliſh, p. 182. *they make very great waſte and havock in* Northumberland, p. 188. *they waſte* Shepey *in* Kent, *and engage with* Ecbert, *near the River* Carr, p. 191. *they are overthrown and put to flight by* Ecbert, p. 192. *their various ſucceſs in the reign of* Ethelwolf, p. 192, 193, *&c. many great battels between them and the* Engliſh *in the reign of* Ethelred *with various fortune*, p. 201, 202, *&c. their whole Army being defeated, they are brought to terms by King* Alfred, p. 207. *in the ſame Kings reign ſeveral vaſt Fleets of* Danes *arrive with freſh ſupplies*, p. 208. *a vaſt Army of them overthrown by King* Athelſtan, p. 225. *a maſſacre committed upon them by the* Engliſh *in all parts of the*

Land in the reign of King Ethelred, p. 249.
Danius *reckon'd among the Ancient* Britiſh *Kings.* p. 25.
Deruvianus, *ſee* Faganus.
Dinothus *Abbot of* Bangor *his Speech to Biſhop* Auſtin. p. 143.
Diocleſian *ſuppoſed a King of* Syria, *and his* 50 *Daughters having (all but one) murder'd their Husbands, to have been driven upon this Iland.* p. 5.
Dis *the firſt peopler of this Iland, as ſome fabulouſly affirm,* p. 9. *the ſame with* Samothes. ibid.
Donaldus *ſaid to have headed the* Caledonians *againſt* Septimius Severus. p. 84.
Donaldus *King of* Scotland *brought to hard conditions by* Oſbert *and* Ella *Kings of* Northumberland. p. 196.
Druids *falſly alledg'd out of* Cæſar *to have forbidden the* Britans *to write their memorable deeds.* p. 2.
Druis *the third from* Samothes *fabulouſly written the ancienteſt King of this Iland.* p. 4.
Dunſtane *ſent the Nobles to reprove King* Edw. *for his luxury,* p. 233. *baniſht by the King, and his Monaſtery rifled,* p. 234. *recall'd by King* Edgar, ibid. *his miraculous eſcape when the reſt of the company were kill'd by the fall of a houſe.* p. 242.
Dunwallo Mulmutius *Son of* Cloten *King of* Cornwall, *reduces the whole Iland into a Monarchy,* p. 21. *eſtabliſheth the* Molmutin *Laws.* p. 22.
Durſlus *King of the* Picts *ſaid to be ſlain by the joynt Forces of the* Britans *and* Romans. p. 102.

E.

EAdbald *after the death of his Father* Ethelbert, *falls back to Heatheniſm*, p. 145. *he runs diſtracted, but afterwards returns to his right mind and faith*, p. 146. *by what means it happen'd.* ibid. *he gives his Siſter* Edelburga *in marriage to* Edwin, ibid. *he dies and leaves his Son* Ercombert *to ſucceed.* p. 156.

Eadbert *ſhares with his two Brothers in the Kingdom of* Kent, *after* Victred, p. 170. *his death*, p. 174. Eadbert *King of* Northumberland *after* Kelwulf *wars againſt the* Picts, p. 174. *joyns with* Unuſt *King of the* Picts *againſt the* Britans *in* Cumberland, p. 175, 176. *forſakes his Crown for a Monks hood.* p. 176.

Eatbright, *otherwiſe call'd* Ethelbert, *uſurping the Kingdom of* Kent, *and contending with* Kenulph *the* Mercian, *is taken priſoner.* p. 182.

Eadburga *by chance poyſons her Husband* Birthric *with a cup which ſhe had prepar'd for another*, p. 184. *the choice propos'd to her by* Charles *the Great to whom ſhe fled*, ibid. *he aſſigns her a rich Monaſtery to dwell in as Abbeſs*, ibid. *detected of unchaſtity, ſhe is expelled, and dies in beggery at* Pavia. p. 185.

Eandred *Son of* Eardulf *reigns* 30 *years King of* Northumberland *after* Alfwold *the Uſurper*, p. 185. *becomes tributary to* Ecbert. p. 188.

Eanfrid *the Son of* Ethelfrid *ſucceeds in the Kingdom of* Bernicia. p. 154.

Eardulf *ſuppoſed to have been ſlain by* Ethelred *is made King of the* Northumbrians *in* York *after* Oſbald, p. 182. *in a War rais'd againſt him by his people he gets the victory*, p. 183. *is driven out of his*

Kingdom by Alſwold. p. 185.
Eaſt-Angle *Kingdom by whom erected.* p. 121.
Eaſt-Saxon *Kingdom by whom begun,* p. 121. *the people converted by* Mellitus, p. 142. *they expel their Biſhop and renounce their faith,* p. 146. *are reconverted by means of* Edwi. p. 159.
Ebranc *ſucceeds his Father* Mempricius *in the Kingdom of* Britain, p. 15. *builds* Caer-Ebranc *now* York, *and other places.* ibid.
Ecbert *ſucceeds his Father* Ercombert *in the Kingdom of* Kent, p. 163. *dying, leaves a ſuſpition of having ſlain his Uncle's Sons* Elbert *and* Egelbright. p. 163.
Ecbert *of the* Weſt-Saxon *linage, flies from* Birthric's *ſuſpition to* Offa, *and thence into* France, p. 183. *after* Birthric's *deceaſe is recall'd, and with general applauſe made King,* ibid. *he ſubdues the* Britans *of* Cornwall *and beyond* Severn, p. 186. *overthrows* Bernulf *the Uſurper of* Mercia *at* Ellandune *or* Wilton, ibid. *the* Eaſt-Angles *having ſlain* Bernulf, *yield to his Soveraignty,* ibid. *drives* Baldred *King of* Kent *out of his Kingdom, and cauſeth both* Kent *and other Provinces to ſubmit to his Scepter,* p. 187. Withlaf *of* Mercia *becomes tributary to him,* ibid. *he gives the* Danes *battel by the River* Carr, p. 191. *in another battel he puts to flight a great Army of them, together with the* Corniſh *men joyning with them,* p. 192. *he dies, and is buried at* Wincheſter. ibid.
Ecferth *the Son of* Offa *the* Mercian *within four months ends his Reign.* p. 181, 182.
Ecfrid Oſwi's *eldeſt Son ſucceeds him in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, p. 163. *wins* Lindſey *from* Wulfer *the* Mercian, ibid. *he wars againſt* Ethelred *the Brother of* Wulfer, p. 166. *he ſends* Bertus *with an Army to ſubdue* Ireland, p. 167. *marching againſt*

againſt the Picts *is cut off with moſt of his Army*, ib. *his death reveng'd by* Bertfrid *a* Northumbrian *Captain.* p. 170.

Edan *a King of the* Scots *in* Britain *put to flight by* Ethelfrid. p. 141.

Edelard *King of the* Weſt-Saxons *after* Ina *moleſted with the Rebellion of his Kinſman* Oſwald, p. 174. *overcoming thoſe troubles, dies in peace.* ibid.

Edgar *the Brother and Succeſſor of* Edwi *in the* Engliſh *Monarchy, calls home* Dunſtan *from Baniſhment*, p. 234. *his peaceable and proſperous Reign, and his favour towards the Monks*, ibid. *his ſtrict obſervance of juſtice, and his care to ſecure the Nation with a ſtrong Fleet*, p. 235. *he is homag'd and row'd down the River* Dee *by eight Kings*, p. 236. *his expoſtulation with* Kened *King of* Scotland, p. 237. *he is cheated by the treacherous Duke* Athelwold *of* Elfflida, *whom, avenging himſelf upon the ſaid Duke, he marries*, p. 237, 238. *attempting on the chaſtity of a young Lady at* Andover, *he is pleaſantly deceiv'd by the mother*, p. 239. *dying in the height of his glory, he is buried at* Glaſton-*Abby.* p. 236.

Edgar *ſirnamed* Atheling, *his right and title to the Crown of* England *from his Grandfather* Edmund Ironſide, p. 292. *excluded by* Harold *Son of Earl* Godwin. p. 299.

Edilhere *the Brother and Succeſſor of* Anna *in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles, *ſlain in a battel againſt* Oſwi. p. 161.

Edilwalk *the* South-Saxon *perſwaded to Chriſtianity by* Wulfer. p. 164.

Edmund *crown'd King of the* Eaſt-Angles *at* Burie, p. 196. *his whole Army put to flight by the* Danes, *he is taken, bound to a ſtake, and ſhot with arrows*, p. 201.

Edmund *the Brother and Succeſſor of* Athelſtane *in the* Engliſh *Monarchy, frees* Mercia, *and takes ſeveral Towns from the* Danes, p. 230. *he drives* Anlaf *and* Suthfrid *out of* Northumberland, *and* Dummail *out of* Cumberland, p. 231. *the ſtrange manner of his death.* p. 231, 232.

Edmund *ſirnamed* Ironſide, *the Son of* Ethelred, *ſet up by divers of the Nobles againſt* Canute, p. 262. *in ſeveral Battels againſt the* Danes, *he comes off for the moſt part victorious*, p. 263, 264. *at length conſents to divide the Kingdom with him*, p. 265. *his death thought to have been violent, and not without* Canute's *conſent.* p. 266.

Edred *the third Brother and Succeſſor of* Athelſtane, *with much ado reduceth the* Northumbrians, *and puts an end to that Kingdom*, p. 232. *dies in the flower of his age, and is buried at* Wincheſter. p. 233.

Edric *the Son of* Edelwalk *King of* South-Saxons *ſlain by* Kedwalla *the* Weſt-Saxon. p. 165.

Edric *ſirnamed* Streon *advanc't by King* Ethelred, *marries his Daughter* Elgiva, p. 254. *he ſecretly murthers two Noblemen whom he had invited to his Lodging*, p. 259. *he practiſes againſt the life of Prince* Edmund, *and revolts to the* Danes, p. 260. *his cunning devices to hinder* Edmund *in the proſecution of his Victories againſt* Canute, p. 263, 264. *is thought by ſome to have been the Contriver of King* Edmunds *murther*, p. 266. *the Government of the* Mercians *conferr'd upon him*, p. 268. *he is put to death by* Canutus, *and his head ſtuck upon a pole, and ſet upon the higheſt Tower in* London. p. 268.

Edward *the Elder Son and Succeſſor of King* Alfred, *hath War with* Ethelwald *his Kinſman, who aſpiring to the Crown, ſtirs up the* Danes *againſt him*, p. 115, 116.

116. *he proves ſucceſsful and potent, divers Princes and great Commanders of the* Danes *ſubmitting to him*, p. 216, 217, &c. *the King and whole Nation of* Scotland, *with divers other Princes and people, do him homage as their Soveraign*, p. 221. *he dies at* Farendon, *and is buried at* Wincheſter. p. 222.

Edward *ſirnamed the Younger*, Edgar's *Son by his firſt Wife* Egelfleda, *is advanc't to the Throne*, p. 241. *the conteſt in his Reign between the Monks and ſecular Prieſts, each abetted by their ſeveral parties*, p. 242. *great miſchief done by the falling of a houſe where a general Council for deciding the controverſie was held*, ibid. Edward *inhumanely murder'd by the treachery of his ſtep-mother* Elfrida. p. 243.

Edward *Son of* Edmund Ironſide, *Heir apparent to the Crown, dies at* London. p. 292.

Edward *ſirnamed the* Confeſſor, *the Son of King* Ethelred *by* Emma, *after* Hardecnute's *death is crown'd at* Wincheſter, p. 280. *he ſeizeth on the Treaſures of his mother Queen* Emma, p. 281. *he marries* Edith *Earl* Godwin's *Daughter*, ibid. *he makes preparation againſt* Magnus *King of* Norway, *but next year makes peace with* Harold Harvager, ibid. *he advances the* Normans *in* England, *which proves of ill conſequence*, p. 283. *he is oppos'd by Earl* Godwin *in the Cauſe of* Euſtace *of* Boloign, *baniſhes the Earl, and divorces his Daughter whom he had married*, p. 285, 286. *entertains Duke* William *of* Normandy, p. 287. *he ſends* Odo *and* Radulf *with a Fleet againſt* Godwin, *and his Sons exerciſing Piracy*, p. 288. *reconciliation at length made, he reſtores the Earl, his Sons and Daughter, all to their former dignities*, p. 289. *he is ſaid to have deſign'd Duke* William *of* Normandy *his Succeſſor to the Crown*, p. 296.

dies

dies and is buried at Weſtminſter, p. 297. *his Character.* p. 297, 298.

Edwi *the Son and Succeſſor of* Edmund *is crown'd at* Kingſton, p. 233. *he baniſheth Biſhop* Dunſtan *for reproving his wantonneſs with* Algiva, *and proves an enemy to all Monks*, p. 233, 234. *the* Mercians *and* Northumbrians *revolt from him, and ſet up his Brother* Edgar, p. 234. *with grief thereof he ends his days, and is buried at* Wincheſter. ibid.

Edwin *thrown out of the Kingdom of* Deira *by* Ethelfrid, p. 133. 146. *flying to* Redwall *the* Eaſt-Angle *for refuge, he is defended againſt* Ethelfrid, p. 147. *he exceeds in power and extent of Dominion all before him*, p. 148. *marries* Edelburga *the Siſter of* Eadbald, ibid. *he is wounded by an Aſſaſſin from* Cuichelm, ibid. *the ſtrange relation of his Converſion to Chriſtianity*, p. 149. 150. *he perſwades* Eorpald *the Son of* Redwald *to embrace the Chriſtian Faith*, p. 153. *he is ſlain in a Battel againſt* Kedwalla. ibid.

Edwin *Duke of the* Mercians, *ſee* Morcar.

Elanius *reckon'd in the number of ancient* Britiſh *Kings.* p. 25.

Eldadus. p. 28.

Eldol. ibid.

Eledancus. ibid.

Elfled *the Siſter of King* Edward *the Elder, takes* Derby *from the* Danes, p. 218. *her Army of* Mercians *victorious againſt the* Welſh, ibid. *after ſeveral Martial Acts, ſhe dies at* Tamworth. p. 221.

Elfred *the Son of King* Ethelred *by* Emma, *betray'd by Earl* Godwin, *and cruelly made away by* Harold. p. 274, 276.

Elfwald *the Son of* Oſwulf *ſucceeding* Ethelred *in* Northum-

Northumberland *is rebell'd againſt by two of his Noblemen* Oſbald *and* Ethelheard, p. 177. *he is ſlain by the conſpiracy of* Siggan *one of his Nobles.* p. 179.

Elfwin *ſlain in a Battel between his Brother* Ecfrid *and* Ethelred. p. 166.

Elidure's *noble demeanor towards his depoſed Brother,* p. 26. *after* Archigallo's *death he reſumes the Government, but is driven out again and impriſon'd by his two other Brethren.* p. 27.

Elind *reckon'd in the number of ancient* Britiſh *Kings.* p. 28.

Ella *the* Saxon *lands with his three Sons, and beats the* Britans *in two Battels,* p. 119. *he and his Son* Ciſſa *take* Andredſcheſter *in* Kent *by force,* ibid. *begins his Kingdom of the* South-Saxons. ibid.

Elwold *Nephew of* Ethelwald *reigns King of the* Eaſt-Angles *after* Aldulf. p. 187.

Emeric *ſucceeds* Otha *in the Kingdom of* Kent. p. 127.

Emma *the Daughter of* Richard *Duke of* Normandy *married firſt to K.* p. 249. *afterwards to* Canute, p. 268. *baniſht by her Son-in-Law* Harold, *ſhe retires to* Flanders, *and is entertained by Earl* Baldwin, p. 274. *her Treaſures ſeized on by her Son King* Edward, p. 281. *ſhe dies, and is buried at* Wincheſter, p. 287. *a Tradition concerning her queſtion'd.* ib.

Eorpwald *the Son of* Redwald *King of the* Eaſt-Angles *perſwaded to Chriſtianity by* Edwin, p. 113. *he is ſlain in fight by* Ricbert *a Pagan.* ibid.

Erchenwin *ſaid by* Huntingdon *to be the Erector of the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Saxons. p. 121.

Ercombert *ſucceeds* Eadbald *in the Kingdom of* Kent. p. 156.

Eric, *ſee* Iric.

Ermenred *thought to have had more right to the Kingdom than* Ercombert. p. 156.

Eſcwin *and* Kenſwin *the Nephew and Son of* Kinegil, *ſaid to have ſucceeded* Kenwalk *in the Government of the* Weſt-Saxons, p. 164. Eſcwin *joyns Battel with* Wulfer *at* Bedanhafer, *and not long after deceaſeth.* ibid.

Eſtrildis *belov'd by* Locrine, p. 14. *is with her Daughter* Sabra *thrown into a River.* p. 15.

Ethelbald *King of* Mercia, *after* Ina *commands all the Provinces on this ſide* Humber, p. 171. *he takes the Town of* Somerton, p. 173. *fraudulently aſſaults part of* Northumberland *in* Eadberts *abſence*, p. 174. *his encounter at* Beorford *with* Cuthred *the* Weſt-Saxon, p. 175. *in another bloody fight at* Secandune *he is ſlain.* p. 176.

Ethelbald *and* Ethelbert *ſhare the* Engliſh-Saxon *Kingdom between them after their Father* Ethelwolf, Ethelbald *marries* Judith *his Father's Widow*, p. 198. *is buried at* Shirburn. ibid.

Ethelbert *ſucceeds* Emeric *in the Kingdom of* Kent, p. 127. *he is defeated at* Wibbandun *by* Keaulin *and his Son* Cutha, p. 128. *inlarges his Dominions from* Kent *to* Humber, p. 137. *civilly receives* Auſtin *and his Fellow-preachers of the Goſpel*, p. 139. *is himſelf baptiz'd*, p. 140. *mov'd by* Auſtin, *he builds S.* Peters *Church in* Canterbury, *and endows it*, p. 141. *he builds and endows S.* Paul's *Church in* London, *and the Cathedral at* Rocheſter, p. 142. *his death*, p. 145.

Ethelbert, Eadbert, *and* Alric *ſucceed their Father* Victred *in the Kingdom of* Kent, p. 170. *ſee* Eadbright.

Ethelbert *the Son of* Ethelwolf *after the death of his Brother*

Brother Ethelbald *enjoys the whole Kingdom to himſelf*, p. 198. *during his Reign the* Danes *waſte* Kent, p. 199. *he is buried with his Brother at* Shirburn, ibid.

Ethelfrid *ſucceeds* Ethelric *in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, p. 134. *he waſts the* Britans, p. 141. *overthrows* Edan *King of* Scots, ibid. *in a Battel at* Weſtcheſter *againſt the* Britiſh *Forces he ſlays above* 1200 *Monks*. p. 144.

Ethelmund *and* Weolſtan *the oppoſite Leaders of each party in a fight between the* Worſter-ſhire *men and* Wilt-ſhire *men ſlain*. p. 184.

Ethelred *ſucceeding his Brother* Wulfer *in the Kingdom of* Mercia, *recovers* Lindſey *and other parts*, p. 164. *invades the Kingdom of* Kent, ibid. *a ſore Battel between him and* Ecfrid *the* Northumbrian, p. 166. *after the violent death of his Queen he exchanges his Crown for a Monks Cowl*. p. 169.

Ethelred *the Son of* Mollo, *the Uſurper* Alcled *being forſaken by the* Northumbrians, *and depos'd, is crown'd in his ſtead*, p. 177. *having cauſed three of his Noblemen to be treacherouſly ſlain, he is driven into baniſhment*, ibid. *after* 10 *year's baniſhment reſtor'd again*, p. 179. *he cruelly and treacherouſly puts to death* Oelf *and* Oelfwin, *the Sons of* Elfwald *formerly King*, p. 180. *and afterwards* Oſred, *who though ſhaven a Monk, attempted again upon the Kingdom*, ibid. *he marries* Elfled *the Daughter of* Offa, p. 180. *is miſerably ſlain by his people*. p. 182.

Ethelred *the Son of* Eandred *driven out in his* 4. *year*, p. 193. *is re-exalted to his Seat, but ſlain the* 4. *year after*. ibid.

Ethelred *the third Son of* Ethelwolf *the third Monarch of the* Engliſh-Saxons *infeſted with freſh Invaſions of*

the Danes, p. 199. *he fights ſeveral great Battels with the* Danes *with various ſucceſs*, p. 202, 203, *he dies in the* 5. *year of his Reign, and is buried at* Winburn. p. 203.

Ethelred *the Son of* Edgar *by* Elfrida *crown'd at* Kingſton, p. 243. Dunſtan *at his Baptiſm preſages ill of his future ſlothful Reign*, ibid. *new Invaſions of the* Danes, *and great ſpoils committed by them in his Reign*, p. 244, 245, *&c. being reduc't to ſtreights by the* Danes, *he retires into* Normandy, p. 258. *is recall'd by his people, and joyfully received*, ibid. *drives* Canute *the* Dane *back to his Ships*, p. 259. *he dies at* London. p. 262.

Ethelric Ida's *Son expels* Edwin *the Son of* Alla *out of the Kingdom of* Deira. p. 133.

Ethelwald *the Son of* Oſwald *King of* Deira, *taking part with the* Mercians, *withdraws his Forces*, p. 160.

Ethelwald *the Brother of* Edelhere *ſucceeds him in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles. p. 161.

Ethelwald *ſirnamed* Mollo *ſet up King of the* Northumbrians *in the room of* Oſwulf, p. 177. *he ſlays in Battel* Oſwin *a Lord that rebell'd againſt him*, ib. *is ſet upon by* Alcled *who aſſumes his place.* ibid.

Ethelwolf *the ſecond Monarch of the* Engliſh-Saxons, *of a mild nature, not warlike, or ambitious.* p. 192. *he with his Son* Ethelbald *gives the* Danes *a total defeat at* Ak-Lea *or* Oak-Lea, p. 194. *he dedicates the tenth of his whole Kingdom toward the maintenance of Maſſes and Pſalms for the proſpering of him and his Captains againſt the* Danes, p. 195. *takes a journey to* Rome *with his Son* Alfrid, *and marries* Judith *the Daughter of* Charles *the* Bald *of* France, ibid. *he is driven by a Conſpiracy to conſign half his Kingdom to his Son* Ethelbald, p. 195. *dies and is buried at* Wincheſter, p. 197. Ethel-

Ethelwolf *Earl of* Bark-ſhire *obtains a Victory againſt the* Danes *at* Engleſield, p. 201, 202. *in another Battel is ſlain himſelf.* p. 202.

Ethildrith *refuſing for* 12 *years her Husband* Ecfrids *Bed, at length veils her ſelf a Nun, and is made Abbeſs of* Ely. p. 167.

Euſtace *Count of* Boloign *revenging the death of one of his ſervants, is ſet upon by the Citizens of* Canterbury, p. 284. *he complains to King* Edward *who takes his part againſt the* Canterburians, *and commands Earl* Godwin *againſt them, but in vain.* p. 284, 285.

F.

FAganus *and* Deruvianus *ſaid to have preach't the Goſpel here, and to have converted almoſt the whole Iſland.* p. 79.

Fauſtus *inceſtuouſly born of* Vortimer *and his Daughter, lives a devout life in* Glamorgan-ſhire. p. 115.

Fergus *King of* Scots *ſaid to be ſlain by the joynt Forces of the* Britans *and* Romans. p. 102.

Ferrex *the Son of* Gorbogudo, *ſlays in fight his Brother* Porrex, *though aſſiſted with Forces out of* France, p. 21. *is in revenge ſlain himſelf in bed by his Mother* Videna. ibid.

Flattery *odious and contemptible to a generous Spirit.* p. 273.

Francus, *nam'd among the four Sons of* Iſtion, *ſprung of* Japhet, *and from him the* Francs *ſaid to be deriv'd.* p. 5.

Fulgenius *reckon'd among the ancient* Britiſh *Kings,* p. 28. *the Commander in chief of the* Caledonians *againſt*

againſt Septimius Severus, *ſo call'd by* Geoffry *of* Monmouth. p. 84.

G.

GAlgacus *heads the* Britans *againſt* Julius Agricola. p. 74.

Germanus *in a publick diſputation at* Verulam, *puts to ſilence the chief of the* Pelagians, p. 104. *he is intreated by the* Britans *to head them againſt the* Picts *and* Saxons, p. 104. *he gains the Victory by a religious Stratagem*, p. 105. *his death.* p. 108.

Gerontius *a* Britan *by his valour advances the ſucceſs of* Conſtantine *the Uſurper in* France *and* Spain, p. 95. *diſplac't by him, he calls in the* Vandals *againſt him*, ibid. *deſerted by his Souldiers, he defends himſelf valiantly with the ſlaughter of* 300 *of his enemies*, p. 96. *he kills his Wife* Nonnichia *refuſing to outlive him.* ibid.

Geruntius *the Son of* Elidure *not his immediate Succeſſor.* p. 28.

Godwin *Earl of* Kent, *and the* Weſt-Saxons *ſtand for* Hardecnute, p. 274. *he betrays Prince* Elfred *to* Harold, p. 274. 276. *being called to account by* Hardecnute, *he appeaſeth him with a very rich Preſent*, p. 277. *he earneſtly exhorts* Edward *to take upon him the Crown of* England, p. 280. *marries his Daughter to King* Edward, p. 281. *he raiſes Forces in oppoſition of the* French *whom the King favour'd*, p. 285. *is baniſht*, p. 286. *he and his Sons uniting in a great Fleet, grow formidable*, p. 288. *coming up to* London *with his Ships, and preparing for Battel, a Reconciliation is ſuddenly made between him and the*

the King, p. 289. *ſitting with the King at Table, he ſuddenly ſinks down dead in his ſeat.* p. 290.

Gomer *the eldeſt Son of* Japhet *believ'd the firſt that peopled theſe Weſt and Northern Climes.* p. 4.

Gonorill *gains upon the affection of her Father King* Leir *by her diſſimulation*, p. 17. *ſhe is married with* Maglaunus *Duke of* Albania, p. 18. *her ingratitude to her Father after ſhe had gain'd from him what ſhe could.* p. 19.

Gorbogudo, *or* Gorbodego *ſucceeds* Kinmarcus *in the Kingdom.* p. 21.

Gorbonian *ſucceeds* Morindus *in the Kingdom*, p. 25. *his juſtice and piety.* p. 25, 26.

Gratianus Funarius *the Father of* Valentinian, *Commander in chief of the* Roman *Armies in* Britain. p. 89.

Gregory *Archdeacon of* Rome, *and afterward Pope, procures the ſending over of Abbot* Auſtin *and others to preach the Goſpel to the* Saxons *in this Iſland.* p. 138.

Griffin *Prince of* South-Wales *joyning with* Algar, *and committing great ſpoil in* Hereford, *is purſued by* Harold *Earl of* Kent, p. 292. *after a peace concluded, he breaks his faith, and returns to Hoſtility*, ibid. *is again reduc't*, ibid. Harold *ſent againſt him, brings the* Welſh *to ſubmiſſion*, p. 293. *lurking about the Country, he is taken and ſlain by* Griffin *Prince of* North-Wales. ibid.

Guendolen *the Daughter of* Corineus *is married to* Locrine *the Son of* Brutus, p. 14. *being divorc't by him, gives him Battel, wherein he is ſlain*, p. 15. *cauſeth* Eſtrildis *whom* Locrine *had married, to be thrown into a River with her Daughter* Sabra, p. 15. *governs* 15 *years in behalf of her Son* Madan. ibid.

Gue-

Gueniver *the Wife of* Melval *a* Britiſh *King kept from King* Arthur *in the Town of* Glaſton. p. 126.

Guiderius *ſaid to have been the Son of* Cunobeline, *and ſlain in a Battel againſt* Claudius. p. 54.

Guitheline *ſucceeds his Father* Gurguntius Barbirus *in the Kingdom.*

Gunhildis *the Siſter of* Swane *with her Husband Earl* Palingus, *and her young Son cruelly murther'd.* p. 150.

Guorangonus *a King of* Kent *before it was given to the* Saxons. p. 113.

Guortigner *the Son of* Vortiger *bends his endeavours to drive out the* Saxons, p. 113. *his ſucceſs againſt them in ſeveral Battels,* p. 415. *dying, he commands his bones to be buried in the Port of* Stonar. ibid.

Gurguntius Barbirus *ſucceeds* Belinus *in the Kingdom, overcomes the* Dane, *and gives incouragement to* Bartholinus *a Spaniard to ſettle a plantation in* Ireland, p. 24. *another ancient* Britiſh *King nam'd* Gurguntius. p. 28.

Gurguſtius *ſucceeds* Rivallo *in the Kingdom.* p. 21.

Gyrtha *Son of Earl* Godwin *accompanies his Father into* Flanders, *together with his Brothers* Toſti *and* Swane, p. 286. *his noble advice to his Brother* Harold *as he was ready to give Battel to Duke* William *of* Normandy, p. 304. *he is ſlain in the ſaid Battel with his Brothers* Harold *and* Leofwin. p. 305.

Gythro *or* Gothrun *a* Daniſh *King baptiz'd and receiv'd out of the Font by King* Alfred, p. 207. *the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles *ſaid to be beſtow'd on him to hold of the ſaid* Alfred. ibid.

H.

HArdecnute *the Son of* Canute *by* Emma, *call'd over from* Bruges, *and receiv'd King with general acclamation*, p. 276. *he calls* Godwin *and others to account about the death of* Elfred, p. 277. *enrag'd at the Citizens of* Worceſter *for killing his Taxgatherers, he ſends an Army againſt them, and burns the City*, p. 277, 278. *he kindly receives and entertains his half Brother* Edward, p. 278. *eating and drinking hard at a great Feaſt, he falls down ſpeechleſs, and ſoon after expiring, is buried at* Wincheſter. ibid.

Harold *ſirnamed* Harefoot, *the Son of* Canute *elected King by Duke* Leofric *and the* Mercians, p. 273. *he baniſhes his Mother-in-Law* Emma, p. 274. *his perfidiouſneſs and cruelty towards* Elfred *the Son of* Ethelred, p. 274. 276. *he dies and is buried at* Wincheſter. p. 276.

Harold *Son of* Godwin, *made Earl of* Kent, *and ſent againſt Prince* Griffin *of* Wales, p. 292. *he reduces him at laſt to utmoſt extremity*, p. 293. *being caſt upon the Coaſt of* Normandy, *and brought to Duke* William, *he promiſes his endeavours to make him King of* England, p. 295, 296. *he takes the Crown himſelf*, p. 299. *puts off Duke* William *demanding it with a ſlighting anſwer*, p. 300, 301. *is invaded by his Brother* Toſti, p. 300. *by* Harold Harvager *King of* Norwey, *whom he utterly overthrows and ſlays, together with* Toſti, p. 301, 302. *is invaded by Duke* William *of* Normandy, p. 303. *is overthrown at the Battel of* Haſtings, *and ſlain together with his two Brothers* Leofwin *and* Gyrtha. p. 305.

Helvius Pertinax *ſucceeds* Ulpius Marcellus *in the Government of* Britain. p. 81.

Hengiſt *and* Horſa *with an Army of* Saxons, Jutes *and* Angles, *lands in the Iſle of* Thanet, p. 111, 112. Hengiſt *invites over more of his Country-men*, p. 112. *he gains advantages of* Vortimer *by marrying his Daughter to him*, p. 113. *he takes on him Kingly Title*, p. 116. *his ſeveral Battels againſt the* Britans, ibid. *his treacherous ſlaughter of* 300 Britiſh *Grandees under pretence of Treaty*, p. 117. *his death*, p. 119.

Henninus *Duke of* Cornwall *hath* Regan *the Daughter of King* Leir *given him in Marriage.* p. 18.

Herebert *a* Saxon *Earl ſlain with moſt part of his Army by the* Danes *at a place call'd* Mereſwar. p. 193.

Hinguar *and* Hubba *two* Daniſh *Brethren, how they got footing by degrees in* England. p. 199, 200.

Hiſtion *ſaid to be deſcended of* Japhet, *and to have had four Sons who peopled the greateſt part of* Europe. p. 5.

Honorius *the Emperour ſends aid twice to the* Britans *againſt their Northern Invaders.* p. 101.

Horſa *the Brother of* Hengiſt *ſlain in the* Saxons *War againſt the* Britans, p. 115, 116. *his Burial-place gave name to* Horſted *a Town in* Kent. p. 116.

Humbeanna *and* Albert *ſaid by ſome to have ſhar'd the Kingdom of* Eaſt-Angles *after one* Elfwald. p. 187.

I.

JAgo *or* Lago *ſucceeds his Uncle* Gurguſtius *in the Kingdom.* p. 21.

Icenians, *and by their example the* Trinobantes *riſe up in*

in Arms againſt the Romans. p. 63.
Ida *the* Saxon *begins the Kingdom of* Bernicia *in* Northumberland. p. 126, 127.
Idwallo *learns by his Brother's ill ſucceſs to rule well.* p. 27.
Immanuentius *ſlain by* Caſſibelan. p. 46.
Immin, Eaba, *and* Eadbert *Noblemen of* Mercia *throw off* Oſwi, *and ſet up* Wulfer. p. 161.
Ina *ſucceeds* Kedwalla *in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, p. 168. *he marches into* Kent *to demand ſatisfaction for the burning of* Mollo, ibid. *is pacified by* Victred *with a ſum of money, and the delivering up of the* Acceſſories, ibid. *vanquiſhes* Gerent *King of* Wales, p. 170. *ſtays* Kenwulf *and* Albright, *and vanquiſhes the* Eaſt-Angles, p. 171. *ends his days at* Rome. ibid.
Inniaunus *depos'd for his ill courſes.* p. 27.
Joſeph *of* Arimathæa *ſaid to have firſt preacht the Chriſtian Faith in this Iſland.* p. 80.
Jovinus *ſent Deputy into this Iſland by the Emperour* Valentinian. p. 91.
Iric *a* Dane *made Earl of* Northumberland *by* Canute *in place of* Uthred *ſlain*, p. 261. 268. *he is ſaid by ſome to have made War againſt* Malcolm *King of* Scots, p. 269. *his greatneſs ſuſpected by* Canute, *he is baniſht the Realm.* ibid.
Julius Agricola *the Emperours Lieutenant in* Britain, *almoſt extirpates the* Ordovices, p. 69. *finiſhes the Conqueſt of the Iſle of* Mona, p. 69. *his juſtice and prudence in Government*, p. 70. *he brings the* Britans *to Civility, Arts, and an Imitation of the* Roman *faſhions*, p. 71. *he receives triumphal Honours from* Titus, p. 71, 72. *he extends his Conqueſts to* Scotland, *ſubdues the* Orcades *and other* Scotch *Iſlands*, p. 72.

p. 72. *he is hard put to it in ſeveral Conflicts, but comes off victorious*, p. 74, 75, *&c. he is commanded home by* Domitian. p. 77.

Julius Cæſar *hath Intelligence that the* Britans *are aiding to his Enemies the* Gauls, p. 33. *he ſends* Caius Voluſenus *to make diſcovery of the nature of the people, and ſtrength of the Country*, p. 34. *after him* Comius *of* Arras *to make a party among the* Britans, p. 35. *the ſtout reſiſtance he meets with from them at his landing*, p. 36, 37. *he receives terms of peace from them*, p. 38. *he loſes a great part of his Fleet*, ibid. *defeats the* Britans, *and brings them anew to terms of peace, and ſets ſail for* Belgia, p. 40. *the year following he lands his Army again*, p. 42. *he hath a very ſharp diſpute with the* Britans *near the Stowr in* Kent, p. 42, 43. *he receives terms of peace from the* Trinobantes, p. 46. *he brings* Caſſibelan *to Terms*, p. 47. *he leaves the Iſland*, ibid. *offers to* Venus *the Patroneſs of his Family a Corſelet of* Britiſh *Pearl*. ibid.

Julius Frontinus *the Emperours Lieutenant in* Britain, *tames the* Silures *a warlike people*. p. 69.

Julius Severus *governs* Britain *under* Adrian *the Emperour*. p. 78.

K.

KEarl *ſurrenders the Kingdom of* Mercia *to his Kinſman* Penda. p. 152.

Keaulin *ſucceeds his Father* Kenric *in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, p. 127. *he and his Son* Cuthin *ſlay three* Britiſh *Kings at* Deorham, p. 133. *gives the* Britans *a very great rout at* Fethanleage, ibid.

is totally routed by the Britans *at* Wodenſbeorth, *and chac't out of his Kingdom, dies in poverty,* p. 134.

Kendwalla *or* Kadwallon *a* Britiſh *King joyning with* Penda *the* Mercian, *ſlays* Edwin *in Battel.* p. 157.

Kedwalla *a* Weſt-Saxon *Prince returned from Baniſhment, ſlays in fight* Edelwalk *the* South-Saxon, *and after that* Edric *his Succeſſor,* p. 165. *going to the Iſle of* Wight, *he devotes the fourth part thereof to holy uſes,* ibid. *the Sons of* Arwald *King of that Iſle ſlain by his order,* p. 166. *he harraſſes the Country of the* South-Saxons, ibid. *is repell'd by the* Kentiſh *men,* ibid. *yet revenges the death of his Brother* Mollo, ibid. *going to* Rome *to be baptiz'd, he dies there about five weeks after his Baptiſm.* p. 168.

Kelred *the Son of* Ethelred *ſucceeds* Kenred *in the* Mercian *Kingdom,* p. 169. *poſſeſt with an evil Spirit, he dies in deſpair.* p. 170.

Kelwulf *reigns King of the* Weſt-Saxons *after* Keola, p. 140. *he makes War upon the* South-Saxons, p. 145. *dying, leaves the Kingdom to his Brothers Sons.* ibid.

Kenwulf *adopted by* Oſric *the* Northumbrian *to be his Succeſſor in the Kingdom,* p. 171. *he becomes a Monk in* Lindisfarn. p. 173.

Kened *King of the* Scots *does high honour to King* Edgar, p. 236. *receives great favours from him,* ibid. *is challeng'd by him upon ſome words let fall, but ſoon pacifies him.* p. 237.

Kenelm *ſucceeding a Child in the Kingdom of* Mercia *after* Kenulf, *is murther'd by order of his Siſter* Quendrid. p. 186.

Kenred *the Son of* Wulfer *ſucceeds* Ethelred *in the* Mercian *Kingdom,* p. 169. *having reign'd a while, he*

he goes to Rome, *and is there ſhorn a Monk*, ibid. *another* Kenred *ſucceeds in the Kingdom of* Northumberland. p. 170.

Kenric *the Son of* Kerdic *overthrows the* Britans *that oppoſe him*, p. 120. *kills and puts to flight many of the* Britans *at* Searesbirig *now* Saliſbury, p. 127. *afterwards at* Beranvirig *now* Banbury. ibid.

Kentwin *a* Weſt-Saxon *King chaces the* Welſh-Britans *to the Sea-ſhore.* p. 165.

Kenulf *hath the Kingdom of* Mercia *bequeath'd him by* Ecferth, p. 182. *he leaves behind him the praiſe of a vertuous Reign.* p. 186.

Kenwalk *ſucceeds his Father* Kinegils *in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, p. 156. *his ſucceſſes variouſly deliver'd*, p. 158. *he is ſaid to have diſcomfited the* Britans *at* Pen *in* Somerſet-ſhire, p. 161. *and giving Battel to* Wulfer *to have taken him priſoner*, p. 162. *dying, leaves the Government to* Sexburga *his Wife.* p. 163.

Kenwulf *entituled* Clito *ſlain by* Ina *the* Weſt-Saxon, p. 171.

Kenwulf *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *ſee* Kinwulf.

Keola *the Son of* Cuthulf *ſucceeds his Uncle* Keaulin *in the* Weſt-Saxon *Kingdom.* p. 134.

Keolwulf *the Brother of* Kenulf *the* Mercian, *after two years reign driven out by* Bernulf *a Uſurper.* p. 186.

Keorle *with the Forces of* Devonſhire *overthrows the* Danes *at* Wigganbeorch. p. 193.

Kerdic *a* Saxon *Prince lands at* Kerdicſhore, *and overthrows the* Britans, p. 120. *defeats their King* Natanled *in a memorable Battel*, ibid. *founds the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, p. 121. *he overthrows the* Britans *again twice at* Kerdic's Ford, *and at* Kerdic's League. p. 121, 122.

Kima-

Kimarus *reckon'd among the ancient* Britiſh *Kings.* p. 25.

Kinegils *and* Cuichelm *ſucceed* Kelwulf *in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, p. 145. *they make Truce with* Penda *the* Mercian, p. 152, 153. *they are converted to the Chriſtian Faith,* p. 155. Kinegils *dying leaves his Son* Kenwalk *to ſucceed.* p. 156.

Kinmarcus *ſucceeds* Siſillius *in the Kingdom.* p. 21.

Kinwulf, *or* Kenwulf (Sigebert *being thrown out, and ſlain by a* Swineherd) *is ſaluted King of the* Weſt-Saxons, p. 175. *behaves himſelf valorouſly in ſeveral Battels againſt the* Welſh, p. 177. *put to the worſt at* Beſington *by* Offa *the* Mercian, ibid. *is routed and ſlain in Battels by* Kineard *whom he had commanded into Baniſhment.* p. 178.

Kymbeline *or* Cunobeline *the Succeſſor of* Tenuantius *ſaid to be brought up in the Court of* Auguſtus, p. 51. *his chief Seat* Camalodunum *or* Maldon. ibid.

L.

LEarning *and* Arts *when began to flouriſh among the* Saxons. p. 162.

Leil *ſucceeds* Brute Greenſheild, *and builds* Caerleil. p. 16.

Leofric *Duke of* Mercia *and* Siward *of* Northumberland *ſent by* Hardecnute *againſt the people of* Worceſter, p. 277, 278. *by their Counſel King* Edward *ſeizeth on the Treaſures of his Mother Queen* Emma, p. 281. *they raiſe Forces for the King againſt Earl* Godwin, p. 285. Leofric's *death.* p. 293.

Leofwin *Son of Earl* Godwin, *after his Fathers Baniſhment goes over with his Brother* Harold *into* Ireland, p. 286.

p. 286. *he and* Harold *aſſiſt their Father with a Fleet againſt King* Edward, p. 288. *he is ſlain with his Frothers* Harold *and* Gyrtha *in the Battel againſt* William *Duke of* Normandy. p. 305.

Linceus *deliver'd in fabulous ſtory to be the Husband of one of the feign'd* 50 *Daughters of* Diocleſian *King of* Syria, p. 5. *the only man ſav'd by his Wife, when all the reſt of the* 50 *ſlew their Husbands.* ib.

Locrin *the eldeſt Son of* Brutus *hath the middle part of this Iſland call'd* Leogria *for his ſhare in the Kingdom.* p. 14.

Lollius Urbicus *draws a Wall of Turfs between the frith of* Dunbritton *and* Edinborough. p. 78.

London *with a great multitude of her Inhabitants by a ſudden fire conſumed.* p. 183.

Lothair *ſucceeds his Brother* Ecbert *in the Kingdom of* Kent. p. 163.

Lucius *a King in ſome part of* Britain *thought the firſt of any King in* Europe *who receiv'd the Chriſtian Faith,* p. 79. *is made the ſecond by deſcent from* Marius, ibid. *after a long Reign buried at* Gloceſter. p. 80.

Lud *walls about* Trinovant, *and calls it* Caer Lud *or* Luds *Town.* p. 28.

Ludiken *the* Mercian *going to avenge* Bernulf, *is ſurpris'd by the* Eaſt-Angles, *and put to the ſword.* p. 187.

Lupicinus *ſent over Deputy into this Iſland by* Julian *the Emperour, but ſoon recall'd.* p. 91.

Lupus *Biſhop of* Troyes *aſſiſtant to* Germanus *of* Auxerre *in the Reformation of the* Britiſh *Church.* p. 104.

M.

MAdan *ſucceeds his Father* Locrin *in the Kingdom.* p. 15.
Maglaunus *Duke of* Albania *marries* Gonorill *eldeſt Daughter of King* Leir. p. 18.
Magoclune *ſirnamed the* Iſland Dragon, *one of the five that reign'd toward the beginning of the* Saxon *Heptarchy.* p. 132.
Magus *the Son and Succeſſor of* Samothes, *whom ſome fable to have been the firſt peopler of this Iſland.* p. 4.
Malcolm *Son of* Kened *King of* Scots, *falling into* Northumberland *with his whole power utterly overthrown by* Uthred, p. 262. *ſome ſay by* Eric. p. 269.
Malcolm *Son of the* Cumbrian *King made King of* Scotland *by* Siward *in the room of* Macbeth. p. 290, 291.
Malcolm *King of* Scotland *coming to viſit King* Edward, *ſwears brotherhood with* Toſti *the* Northumbrian, p. 293. *afterwards in his abſence harraſſes* Northumberland. ibid.
Mandubratius *Son of* Immanuentius *favour'd by the* Trinobantes *againſt* Caſſibelan. p. 46.
Marganus *the Son of* Gonorill *depoſeth his Aunt* Cordelia, p. 20. *ſhares the Kingdom with his Couſin* Cunedagius, *invades him, but is met and overcome by him.* p. 20
Marganus *the Son of* Archigallo *a good King.* p. 27.
Marius *the Son of* Arviragus *is ſaid to have overcome the* Picts, *and ſlain their King* Roderic. p. 79.
Martia *the Wife of King* Guitheline *ſaid to have inſtituted the Law call'd* Marchen Leage. p. 24, 25.
Martinus *made Deputy of the* Britiſh *Province failing*

to kill Paulus, *falls upon his own Sword.* p. 90.
Maximianus Herculeus *forc't to conclude a peace with* Caranſius, *and yield him* Britain. p. 86.
Maximus *a Spaniard uſurping part of the Empire, is overcome at length and ſlain by* Theodoſius, p. 93.
Maximus *a friend of* Gerontius *is by him ſet up in* Spain *againſt* Conſtantine *the Uſurper.* p. 95.
Mempricius *one of* Brutus *his Council perſwades him to haſten out of* Greece. p. 10.
Mempricius *and* Malim *ſucceed their Father* Madan *in the Kingdom,* p. 15. Mempricius *treacherouſly ſlaying his Brother, gets ſole poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, reigns tyrannically, and is at laſt devour'd by Wolves.* p. 15.
Mellitus, Juſtus, *and others ſent with* Auſtin *to the Converſion of the* Saxons, p. 140. *he converts the* Eaſt-Saxons, p. 142. *S.* Paul's *Church in* London *built for his Cathedral by* Ethelred, *as that of* Rocheſter *for* Juſtus. ibid.
Mollo, *the Brother of* Kedwalla, *purſu'd, beſet, and burnt in a houſe whither he had fled for ſhelter,* p. 166. *his death reveng'd by his Brother.* ibid.
Morcar *the Son of* Algar *made Earl of* Northumberland *in the room of* Toſti, p. 294. *he and* Edwin *Duke of the* Mercians *put* Toſti *to flight,* p. 300. *they give Battel to* Harold Harfager, *King of* Norwey: *but are put to the worſt,* p. 302. *they refuſe to ſet up* Edgar, *and at length are brought to ſwear fidelity to Duke* William *of* Normandy. p. 305.
Mordred Arthur's *Nephew ſaid to have given him in a Battel his deaths wound.* p. 131.
Morindus, *the Son of* Elanius *by* Tangueſtela, *a valiant man, but infinitely cruel.* p. 25.
Mulmutius, *ſee* Dunwallo.

O.

Octa *and* Ebiſſa *call'd over by* Hengiſt *their Uncle*, p. 13. *they poſſeſs themſelves of that part of the Iſle which is now* Northumberland, ibid.
Oenus, *one in the Catalogue of ancient* Britiſh *Kings*. p. 28.
Oeric *or* Oiſc *ſucceeds his Father* Hengiſt *in the Kingdom of* Kent, *and from him the* Kentiſh *Kings call'd* Oiſcings, p. 119. *he is otherwiſe call'd* Eſca. p. 127.
Offa *the Son of* Siger *quits his Kingdom of the* East-Saxons *to go to* Rome *and turn Monk with* Kenred. p. 169, 170. 174.
Offa *defeating and ſlaying* Beornred *the Uſurper, becomes King of* Mercia *after* Ethelbald, p. 176. *he ſubdues a neighbouring people call'd* Heſtings, p. 177. *gets the Victory of* Alric *King of* Kent *at* Occanford, ibid. *inviting* Ethelbright *King of the* East-Angles *to his Palace, he there treacherouſly cauſeth him to be beheaded, and ſeizeth his Kingdom*, p. 180. *his at firſt enmity afterwards league with* Charles *the Great*, p. 181. *he grants a perpetual Tribute to the Pope out of every houſe in his Kingdom*, ibid. *he draws a Trench of wondrous length between* Mercia *and the* Britiſh *Confines, his death*. ibid.
Oſbald *a Nobleman exalted to the Throne of the* Northumbrians *after* Ethelred. p. 182.
Oſbert *reigns in* Northumberland *after the laſt of the* Ethelreds *in the time of the* Daniſh *Invaſion*. p. 193.
Oſbert *and* Ella *helping the* Picts *againſt* Donaldus *King of* Scotland, *put the* Scots *to flight at* Sterlinbridge *with great ſlaughter, and take the King priſoner*. p. 196.

Osfrid *and* Eanfrid *the Sons of* Edwin *converted and baptized*, p. 152. Osfrid *ſlain together with his Father in a Battel againſt* Kedwalla. p. 153.
Oſlac *and* Cnebban *two* Saxon *Earls ſlain by* Keaulin *at* Wibbandun. p. 128.
Oſmund *King of the* South-Saxons. p. 176.
Oſred *a Child ſucceeds* Aldfrid *in the* Northumbrian *Kingdom*, p. 169. *he is ſlain by his kindred for his vicious life.* p. 170.
Oſred *Son of* Alcled *advanc't to the Kingdom of* Northumberland *after* Elfwald, *is ſoon driven out again*, p. 179. *is taken and forcibly ſhaven a Monk at* York. p. 180.
Oſric *the Son of* Elfric *baptiz'd by* Paulinus, *ſucceeds in the Kingdom of* Bernicia, p. 154. *turns Apoſtate, and is ſlain by an Eruption of* Kedwalla *out of a beſieg'd Town*, ibid. *another* Oſric *ſucceeds* Kenred *the ſecond.* p. 170.
Oſric *Earl of* Southampton *and* Ethelwolf *of* Barkſhire *beat the* Danes *back to their Ships.* p. 199.
Oſtorius *ſent Vice-prætor into* Britain *in the room of* Plautius *the Prætor*, p. 55. *routs the* Britans, *and improves his Victory to the beſt advantage*, p. 55, 56. *gives the Government of ſeveral Cities to* Cogidunus *a* Britiſh *King his Allie*, p. 56. *defeats the* Silures *under the leading of* Caractacus. p. 57.
Oſtrid *the Wife of* Ethelred *kill'd by her own Nobles.* p. 169.
Oſwald *Brother of* Eanfrid *living exil'd in* Scotland, *is there baptiz'd*, p. 154. *with a ſmall Army utterly overthrows* Kedwalla, ibid. *ſettles Religion, and very much enLarges his Dominions*, p. 155. *overcome, and ſlain in Battel by* Penda *at* Maſerfeild, *now* Oſweſtre, p. 156. Oſwi *ſucceeds his Brother* Oſwald *in the*

the Kingdom, p. 156. *he perſwades* Sigebert *to receive the Chriſtian Faith*, p. 159. *he diſcomfits* Penda's *vaſt Army*, p. 160. *he ſubdues all* Mercia, *and the greateſt part of the* Pictiſh *Nation*, p. 161. *ſhaken off by the* Perſian *Nobles, and* Wulfer *ſet up in his ſtead*, ibid. *his death.* p. 163.

Oſwin *the Nephew of* Edwin *ſhares with* Oſwi *in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, p. 157. *coming to Arms with him, he is over-match't, and ſlain by his Command.* ibid.

Oſwulf *hath the Crown of* Northumberland *relinquiſht to him by* Eadbert, p. 176. *ſlain by his own Servants.* p. 177.

Otha *ſucceeds* Eſca *in the Kingdom of* Kent. p. 127.

Otter *and* Roald *two* Daniſh *Leaders landing in* Devonſhire, *their whole Forces are ſcatter'd, and* Roald *ſlain.* p. 218.

P.

PAndraſus *a* Grecian *King keeps the* Trojans *in ſervitude*, p. 7. *is ſet upon and beaten by* Brutus. p. 8, 9.

Paulinus *ſent ſpiritual Guardian with* Edelburga, *endeavours to convert* Northumberland *to Chriſtianity*, p. 148. *the manner of his winning King* Edwin *to embrace the Chriſtian Religion*, p. 149, 151. *he converts the Province of* Lindſey *and* Blecca *the Governour of* Lincoln, *and builds a Church in that City.* p. 152.

Peada *the Son of* Penda *and Prince of the* Middle-Angles, *is baptized with all his Followers*, p. 158. *he hath* South-Mercia *conferr'd on him by* Oſwi, p. 161.

is ſlain by the treachery of his Wife on Eaſter-day. ibid.

Pelagius *a* Britan *brings new opinions into the Church,* p. 94. *the* Pelagian *Doctrine refuted by* Germanus, p. 104. *the* Pelagians *are judg'd to baniſhment by* Germanus. p. 108.

Penda *the Son of* Wibba *King of* Mercia *hath the Kingdom ſurrender'd him by* Kearle, p. 152. *he joyns with* Kedwalla *againſt* Edwin, p. 153. *he ſlays* Oſwald *in Battel,* p. 156. *in another Battel* Sigebert, p 157. *in another* Anna *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, p. 159. *he is ſlain in a Battel againſt* Oſwi. p. 161.

Peniſſel *reckon'd in the number of ancienteſt* Britiſh *Kings.* p. 28.

Peredure *and* Vigenius *expel their Brother* Elidure, *and ſhare the Kingdom between them.* p. 27.

Perjury *an example of Divine vengeance in* Alfred *who conſpir'd againſt King* Athelſtane. p. 223.

Petilius Cerealis *utterly defeated by the* Britans, p. 64. *he commands the* Roman *Army in* Britain. p. 68, 69.

Petronius Turpilianus *commands in chief in* Britain *after* Suetonius Paulinus. p. 68.

Pir *one of the ancienteſt Race of* Britiſh *Kings.* p. 28.

Picts *and* Scots *harraſs the South Coaſts of* Britain. p. 91. *&c. See* Scots.

Picts *and* Saxons *beaten by the* Britans, *through the pious Conduct of* Germanus. p. 104, 105.

Porrex *the Son of* Gorboguido, *though aſſiſted from* France, *is ſlain by his Brother* Ferrex, p. 21. *his death reveng'd by his Mother* Videna, ibid. *another of that name reckon'd in the Catalogue of* Britiſh *Kings.* p. 28.

Portſmouth *denominated from the landing of* Porta *a* Saxon *Prince with his two Sons* Bida *and* Megla, p. 120. Pra-

Prasutagus *King of the* Icenians, *leaving* Cæsar *coheir with his Daughters, causeth the* Britans *to revolt.* p. 62, 63.

Priscus Licinius *Lieutenant in this Isle under* Adrian. p. 78.

Probus *subdues the Usurper* Bonosus, *who falls in the Battel,* p. 85. *prevents by his wisdom new risings in* Britain. ibid.

R.

READwulf *succeeding* Ethelred *in* Northumbria, *soon after his Coronation, cut off with his whole Army by the* Danes *at* Alvetheli. p. 193.

Rederchius *reckon'd among the ancient* British *Kings.* p. 28.

Redion, *another* British *King.* ibid.

Redwald *King of the* East-Angles *wars against* Ethelfrid, *in defence of* Edwin, *and slays him in Battel.* p. 147.

Regin *Son of* Gorbonian, *a good King.* p. 27.

Rivallo *succeeds his Father* Cunedagius. p. 21.

Rollo *the* Dane *or* Norman *having fought unsuccessfully here, turns his Forces into* France, *and conquers the Country since call'd* Normandy. p. 212.

Romans *land in* Britain *under the Conduct of* Julius Cæsar, p. 36, 37. *their sharp Conflict with the* Britans *near the* Stoure *in* Kent, p. 42, 43. *the cruel Massacre of the* Britans *upon them,* p. 64. *they leave the Island to succour their declining affairs in other parts,* p. 104. *they come and aid the* Britans *against the* Scots *and* Picts, ibid. *they help them to build a new Wall,* p. 102. *instruct them in War, and take their*

their laſt farewel. ibid.

Romanus *nam'd among the four Sons of* Hiſtion, *ſprung of* Japhet, *and from him the* Romans *fabled to be derived.* p. 5.

Rowen *the Daughter of* Hengiſt *ſent for over by her Father*, p. 112. *ſhe preſents King* Vortigern *with a bowl of wine by her Fathers Command*, p. 112, 113. *ſhe is upon the King's demand given him in Marriage.* p. 113.

Rudancus *King of* Cambria *ſubdued in fight, and ſlain by* Dunwallo Mulmutius. p. 21.

Rudhuddibras *ſucceeds his Father* Leil, *and founds* Caerkeint *or* Canterbury *with ſeveral other places.* p. 16.

Runno *the Son of* Peredure *not immediate Succeſſor.* p. 28.

S.

SAbra *thrown into the River* (*thence call'd* Sabrina) *with her Mother* Eſtrildis *by* Guendolen. p. 15.

Samothes *the firſt King that Hiſtory or Fable mentions to have peopled this Iſland.* p. 4.

Samulius *recorded among the ancient* Britiſh *Kings.* p. 28.

Saron *the ſecond King nam'd among the Succeſſors of* Samothes. p. 4.

Saxons *harraſs the South Coaſt of* Britain, *ſlay* Nectaridius *and* Bulcobandes, p. 91. Saxons *and* Picts, *ſee* Picts.

Saxons *invited into* Britain *by* Vortigern, *and the* Britans *againſt the* Scots *and* Picts, p. 109, 110. *their Original*, p. 110. *they arrive under the leading of* Hen-

Hengiſt *and* Horſa. p. 111. *they beat the* Scots *and* Picts *near* Stamford. *p.* 112. *freſh Forces ſent them over, and their bounds enlarged.* p. 112. 113. *they making league with the* Scots *and* Picts, *waſt the land without reſiſtance,* ibid. *beaten by* Guortimer *in four Battels, and driven into* Thanet. p. 115. *they return moſt of them into their own Country.* p. 117. *the reſt notably defeated by* Ambroſius Aurelianus *and the* Britans. p. 118.

Scots, Picts, *and* Attacots *harraſs the South Coaſt of* Britain, p. 91. *overcome by* Maximus, p. 93. Scots *poſſeſt* Ireland *firſt, and named it* Scotia, p. 94. Scots *and* Picts *beaten by the* Romans, *ſent to the ſupply of the* Britans, p. 101. *they make ſpoil and havock with little or no oppoſition.* p. 103.

Sebbi *having reign'd over the* Eaſt-Saxons 30 *years, takes on him the habit of a Monk.* p. 163.

Sebert *the Son of* Sleda, *reigns over the* Eaſt-Saxons *by permiſſion of* Ethelbert. p. 142.

Segonax, *one of the four petty Kings in* Britain, *that aſſaulted* Cæſar's *Camp.* p. 46.

Sejus Saturninus *commands the* Roman *Navy in* Britain. p. 78.

Selred *the Son of* Sigebert *the Good, ſucceeds* Offa *in the* Eaſt-Saxon *Kingdom, and comes to a violent end.* p. 174.

Septimius Severus *the* Roman *Emperour, arrives in perſon with an Army in this Iſland,* p. 81. 82. *his ill ſucceſs againſt the* Caledonians, p. 82. *nevertheleſs goes on and brings them to terms of peace,* p. 83. *builds a Wall acroſs the Iſland, from Sea to Sea,* ibid. *they taking Arms again, he ſends his Son* Antoninus *againſt them,* p. 84. *he dies at* York, *'tis thought of grief.* ibid.

Severus *ſent over Deputy into this Iſland by the Emperour* Valentinian. p. 91.
Sexburga *the Wife of* Kenwalk *driven out by the Nobles, diſdaining female Government.* p. 163.
Sexted *and* Seward *re-eſtabliſh Heatheniſm in* Eaſt-Saxony, *after the Death of their Father* Sebert, p. 145. *in a fight againſt the* Britans *they periſh with their whole Army.* p. 146.
Sigeard *and* Senfred *ſucceed their Father* Sebbi *in the* Eaſt-Saxon *Kingdom.* p. 174.
Sigebert *ſucceeds his Brother* Eorpwald *in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles, p. 156. *he founds a School or Colledge, and betakes himſelf to a Monaſtical life,* p. 156. *being forc't into the field againſt* Penda, *he is ſlain with his Kinſman* Egric. p. 157.
Sigebert *ſirnamed the Small, ſucceeds his Father* Seward *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, p. 159. *his ſucceſſour* Sigebert *the* 2d. *is perſwaded by* Oſwi *to imbrace Chriſtianity,* ibid. *is murdered by the Conſpiracy of two Brethren,* ibid. *his Death denounc't by the Biſhop for eating with an excommunicate perſon,* p. 160. Sigebert *the Kinſman of* Cuthred *ſucceeds him in the* Weſt-Saxon *Kingdom.* p. 175.
Siger *the Son of* Sigebert *the Small, and* Sebbi *the Son of* Seward *ſucceed in the government of the* Eaſt-Saxons *after* Swithelms *deceaſe.* p. 162.
Silures *a people of* Britain *chuſe* Caractacus *for their Leader againſt the* Romans, p. 56. *they continue the War after* Caractacus *was taken, againſt* Oſtorius *and others.* p. 59. 60. 61.
Simon Zelotes, *by ſome ſaid to have preacht the Chriſtian Faith in this Iſland.* p. 80.
Siſillius *ſucceeds* Jago. p. 21.
Siſilius *the Son of* Guitheline *ſucceeds his Mother* Martia,

Martia, p. 25. *another of that name reckon'd in the number of the ancient* Brittiſh *Kings.* p. 28.
Siward *Earl of* Northumberland *ſent by* Hardecnute *together with* Leofric *againſt the people of* Worceſter, p. 277. 278. *he and* Leofric *raiſe Forces for King* Edward *againſt Earl* Godwin, p. 285. *he makes an expedition into* Scotland, *vanquiſhes* Macbeth, *and placeth in his ſtead* Malcolm *Son of the* Cumbrian *King*, p. 290. 291. *he dies at* York *in an armed poſture.* p. 291.
Sleda *erects the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Saxons, p. 121.
South-Saxon *Kingdom by whom erected*, p. 119.
South-Saxons *upon what occaſion converted to the Chriſtian Faith.* p. 164.
Staterius *King of* Albany, *is defeated and ſlain in fight by* Dunwallo Mulmutius. p. 21.
Stilicho *repreſſes the invading* Scots *and* Picts. p. 93.
Stuff *and* Withgar *the Nephews of* Kerdic *bring him new levies*, p. 120. *they inherit what he won in the Iſle of* Wight. p. 125.
Suetonius Paulinus *Lieutenant in* Britain, *attaques the Iſle of* Mona *or* Angleſey. p. 61.
Suidhelm *ſucceeds* Sigebert *in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Saxons, p. 61. *he is baptiz'd by* Kedda. ibid.
Swane *in revenge of his Siſters Death makes great devaſtations in the Weſt of* England, p. 250. *he carries all before him as far as* London, *but is there repell'd*, p. 257. *is ſtil'd King of* England, ibid. *he ſickens and dies.* p. 258.
Swane *the Son of Earl* Godwin *treacherouſly murthers his Kinſman* Beorn, p. 282. *his peace wrought with the King by* Aldred *Biſhop of* Worceſter, ibid. *toucht in Conſcience for the ſlaughter of* Beorn,

he goes bareſoot to Rome, *and returning home dies in* Lycia. p. 289.

Swithred *the laſt King of the* Eaſt-Saxon *Kingdom, driven out by* Ecbert *the* Weſt-Saxon. p. 174. 187.

T.

TAximagulus *a petty King anciently in* Britain, *one of the four Kings that aſſaulted* Cæſar's *Camp.* p. 46.

Tenuantius *one of the Sons of* Lud *hath* Cornwal *allotted him,* p. 28. *made King after the Death of* Caſſibelan. p. 50.

Tendric *a Warlike King of* Britain, *ſaid to have exchang'd his Crown for a Hermitage,* p. 134. *to have taken up Arms again in aid of his Son* Mouric. ibid.

Theobale *the Brother of King* Ethelfrid, *ſlain at* Degiaſtan. p. 141.

Theodore *a Monk of* Tarſus *ordain'd Biſhop of* Canterbury *by P.* Vitalian, p. 163. *by his means the Liberal Arts, and the Greek and Latin Tongues flouriſh among the* Saxons. ibid.

Theodoſius *ſent over by the Emperour* Valentinian, *enters* London *victoriouſly,* p. 91. *ſends for* Civilis *and* Dulcitius, p. 92. *puniſhes* Valentinus *a* Pannonian, *conſpiring againſt him,* ibid. *he returns with applauſe to* Valentinian. p. 92. 93.

Theodoſius *the Son of the former preferr'd to the Empire,* p. 93. *overcomes and ſlays* Maximus, *uſurping the Empire.* p. 93.

Thurfert *and divers other* Daniſh *Lords ſubmit to King* Edward *the Elder.* p. 220.

Titulus

Titulus *ſucceeds his Father* Uffa *in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles. p. 121.

Togodumnus *the ſecond Son of* Cunobeline *ſucceeds in the Kingdom,* p. 51. *is overthrown by* Aulus Plautius, p. 52. *ſlain in Battel.* p. 53.

Toſti *the Son of* Godwin *made Earl of* Northumberland *in the room of* Siward, p. 291. *he ſwears Brotherhood with* Malcolm *King of* Scotland, p. 293. *goes to* Rome *with* Aldred *Biſhop of* York, ibid. *the* Northumbrians *riſe againſt him and expel him,* p. 294. 295. *a ſtory of great outrage and cruelty committed by him at* Hereford, p. 295. *making War againſt his Brother King* Harold, *he is driven out of the Country by* Edwin *and* Morcar, p. 300. *joining with* Harold Harfager *King of* Norway *againſt his Brother, he is ſlain together with* Harfager *in the Battel.* p. 302.

Trebellius Maximus *ſent into* Britain *in the room of* Petronius Turpilianus. p. 68.

Trinobantes *fall off from* Caſſibelan, *and ſubmit to* Cæſar, *and recommend* Mandubratius *to his protection.* p. 45. 46.

Turkil *a* Daniſh *Earl aſſaults* Canterbury, *but is bought off,* p. 253. *he ſwears Allegiance to King* Ethelred, *that under that pretence he might ſtay and give intelligence to* Swane, p. 256. *he leaves the* Engliſh *again and joins with* Canute, p. 260. *his greatneſs ſuſpected by* Canute, *he is baniſht the Realm.* p. 269.

Turquetill *a* Daniſh *Leader, ſubmitting to King* Edward, *obtains leave of him to go and try his Fortune in* France. p. 219.

V.

VAlentinian *the Emperour ſends over ſeveral Deputies ſucceſſively into this Iſland.* p. 91.
Vectius Bolanus *ſent into* Britain *in the room of* Trebellius Maximus. p. 68.
Vellocatus, *ſee* Venutius *and* Cartiſmandua.
Venutius *a King of the* Brigantes *deſerted by his Wife* Cartiſmandua, *who marries his Squire* Vellocatus, p. 60. *he rights himſelf againſt her by Arms,* ibid. *makes War ſucceſsfully againſt thoſe taking part with his Wife.* p. 60. 61.
Verannius *ſucceeds* A. Didius *in the* Brittiſh *Wars.* p. 61.
Vertue *ever highly rewarded by the ancient* Romans. p. 55.
Veſpaſian *valiantly fighting under* Plautius *againſt the* Britans *is reſcued from danger by his Son* Titus. p. 55. *for his eminent ſervices here he receives triumphal Ornaments at* Rome. p. 55.
Uffa *erects the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles, p. 121. *from him his ſucceſſours call'd* Uffings. p. 121.
Victorinus *a Moor, appeaſeth a Commotion in* Britain, *by ſlaying a Governour of his own recommending.* p. 85.
Victorinus *of* Toloſa *made Freſect of this Iſland.* p. 94.
Victred *the Son of* Ecbert *obtaining the Kingdom of* Kent, *ſettles all things in peace,* p. 166. *after* 34 *years Reign he deceaſeth.* p. 170.
Videna *ſlays her Son* Ferrex *in revenge of her other Son* Porrex. p. 21.

Vigenius *and* Peredure, *expelling their Brother* Elidure, *ſhare the Kingdom between them.* p. 27.
Virius Lupus *hath the North part of the Government aſſign'd him by* Severus *the Emperour.* p. 81.
Ulfketel *Duke of the* Eaſt-Angles *ſets upon the* Danes *with great valour*, p. 250. *his Army defeated through the ſubtlety of a* Daniſh *Servant*, p. 254. *he is ſlain with ſeveral other Dukes at the fatal Battel of* Aſſandune. p. 264.
Ulpius Marcellus *ſent Lieutenant into* Britain *by* Commodus, *ends the War by his Valour and Prudence.* p. 8.
Vortipor *reigns in* Demetia, *or* South-Wales. p. 132.
Vortigern's *Character*, p. 109. *he is adviſ'd by his Council to invite in the* Saxons *againſt the* Scots *and* Picts, ibid. *he beſtows upon* Hengiſt *and the* Saxons, *the Iſle of* Thanet, p. 112. *then all* Kent, *upon a marriage with* Rowen Hengiſt's *Daughter*, p. 113. *condemn'd in a Synod for inceſt with his Daughter, he retires to a Caſtle in* Radnorſhire, *built for the purpoſe*, p. 115. *his Son* Guortimer *dead hereſumes the Government*, p. 116. *is drawn into a ſnare by* Hengiſt, p. 117. *retiring again is burnt in his Tower.* p. 117.
Urianus, *reckon'd in the number of ancient* Brittiſh *Kings.* p. 28.
Utherpendragon *thought to be the ſame with* Natanleod. p. 120.
Uthred *ſubmits himſelf with the* Northumbrians *to* Swane, p. 257. *to* Canute, p. 261. *his Victory over* Malcolm *King of* Scots, p. 262. 269. *he is ſlain by* Turebrand *a* Daniſh *Lord at* Canutes *either Command or connivence.* p. 261.

W.

WEſt-Saxon *Kingdom by whom erected*, p. 121.
Weſt-Saxons, *and their Kings converted to the Chriſtian Faith by* Berinus. p. 155.
Wibba *ſucceeds* Crida *in the* Mercian *Kingdom.* p. 134.
Wilbrod *a Prieſt goes over with* 12 *others to preach the Goſpel in* Germany, p. 168. *he is countenanc't by* Pepin *Chief Regent of the* Franks, *and made firſt Biſhop of that Nation.* p. 168. 169.
Wilfrid *Biſhop of the* Northumbrians *depriv'd by* Ecfrid *of his Biſhoprick, wanders as far as* Rome, p. 164. *returning plants the Goſpel in the Iſle of* Wight, *and other places aſſign'd him*, p. 164. 165. *hath the fourth part of that Iſland given him by* Kedwalla, *he beſtows it on* Bertwin *a Prieſt, his Siſters Son.* ibid.
William *Duke of* Normandy *honourably entertain'd by King* Edward, *and richly diſmiſt*, p. 287. *he betroths his daughter to* Harold, *and receives his Oath to aſſiſt him to the Crown of* England, p. 295. 296. *ſending after King* Edwards *Death to demand performance of his promiſe, is put off with a ſlight anſwer*, p. 300. 301. *he lands with an Army at* Haſtings, p. 301. *overthrows* Harold, *who with his two Brothers is ſlain in Battel*, p. 305. *he is Crown'd at* Weſtminſter *by* Aldred *Archbiſhop of* York. ibid.
Wipped *a Saxon Earl ſlain at a place call'd* Wippeds fleot, *which thence took denomination*, p. 116.
Withgar, *ſee* Stuff.

Withgarburgh *in the Iſle of* Wight *ſo call'd from being the burial-place of* Withgar. p. 125.
Withlaf *the ſucceſſour of* Ludiken, *being vanquiſht by* Ecbert, *all* Mercia *becomes tributary to him.* p. 187.
Wulfer *the Son of* Penda *ſet up by the* Mercian *Nobles in the room of his Brother* Oſwi, p. 161. *ſaid to have been taken Priſoner by* Kenwalk *the* Weſt-Saxon, p. 162. *he takes and waſts the Iſle of* Wight, *but cauſeth the Inhabitants to be baptized,* ibid. *gives the Iſland to* Ethelwald *King of* South-Saxons, ibid. *ſends* Jeruvianus *to recover the* Eaſt-Saxons, *fallen off the ſecond time from Chriſtianity,* ibid. Lindſey *taken from him by* Ecfrid *of* Northumberland, p. 163. *his Death accompany'd with the ſtain of Simonie.* p. 164.
Wulfheard *King* Ethelwolf's *Chief Captain, drives back the* Danes *at* Southampton *with great ſlaughter,* p. 192. *he dies the ſame year, as it is thought of Age.* ibid.
Wulktul *Earl of* Ely *put to flight with his whole Army by the* Danes. p. 201.

Y.

YMner *King of* Loegria, *with others ſlain in Battel by* Dunwallo Mulmutius. p. 21.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 2. *l.* 16. for Britains *read* Britans, *p.* 6. *l.* 18. for by the ſame remove, *r.* and by the *&c. p.* 8. *l.* 28. for bee't *r.* be, *p.* 13. *l.* 24. for be-ſpoken *r.* beſpoken, *p.* 16. *l.* 9. for *Germannus r. Germanus*, *p.* 23. *l.* 3. for Brother *r.* his Brother, *ibid. l.* 16. for *Allobreges r. Allobroges*, *p.* 25. *l.* 3. for *Martian r. Mercian*, *p.* 28. *l.* 18. for oppertunety *r.* opportunety, *p.* 29. *l.* 9. for unto *r.* to, *p.* 29. from the end of *l.* 26. to the beginning of *l.* 33. ſhould not have been in a different Character, ſo alſo a line in the next page, *p.* 35. *l* laſt, for *Bay*-Cloſe inviron'd, *r. Bay*, cloſe inviron'd, *p.* 51. *l.* 20. before made leave out he, *p.* 71. *l.* 33. for ex'ſteem'd *r.* eſteem'd, *p.* 102. *l.* 33. for *Durſtus r. Durſtus*, *p.* 119. *l.* 12. for *Andreds* League *r. Andreds* Leage, *p.* 126. *l.* 18. for Armes *r. Arrur*, *p.* 138. *l.* 5. for haleluja *r.* Hallelujah, *ibid. l.* 6. for *Benedic r. Benedict*, *p.* 139. *l.* 12. for the *r.* thir, *p.* 150. *l.* 17. for and *r.* as, *ibid. l.* 18. after begin no comma, *p.* 151. *l.* 9. for yee *r.* thee, *p.* 157. *l.* 13. for Daughter *r.* Siſter, *p.* 160. *l.* 31. for *Loyden r. Loydes*, *p.* 161. *l.* 7. for her *r.* his, *p.* 161. *l.* 35 for *Wingeornesburgh*, *r. Wingeornesbrug*, *p.* 264. *l.* 4. for year a af- *read* a year after, *p.* 169. *l.* 22. for Epitomy *r.* Epitome, *p.* 170. *l.* 27. after teſtifies a period, *p.* 173. *l.* 2. before far *r.* by, *ibid. l.* laſt, for Unkle *r.* Unkle's Son, *p.* 174. *l.* 30. for *Kuiric r. Kiuric*, *p.* 176. *l.* 9. after two *r.* or three, *ibid. l.* laſt but one, for Royal *r.* Regal, *p.* 177. *l.* 19. for *Occanford r. Ottanford*, *p.* 183. *l.* 23. after Embaſſadours leave out the ſtop, *ibid. l.* 24. after *Ecbert* two points, *p.* 192. *l.* laſt for *Ethelhelin helam*, *r. Ethelhelm*, *p.* 195. *l.* 13. for de did *r.* he did, *p.* 197. *l.* 23. for *Weſt-Saxon r. Weſt-Saxons*, *p.* 201. *l.* 14. for flight *r.* fight, *p.* 216. *l.* 13. for *Foames*, there no comma after *Thames* but after there, *p.* 225. *l.* 27. for his *r.* this, *p* 235. *l.* 4. for on *r.* about, *ibid. l.* laſt but two, for the *r.* that, *p.* 246 *l.* 17. for *Frena r. Frana*, *p.* 260. *l.* 23. before ſpread *r.* he, *p.* 264. *l.* 23. for *Oeford r. Orford*, *p.* 276. *l.* 29. for Biſhop *r.* Archbiſhop, *p.* 277. *l.* 12. for Brother *r.* half Brother, *p.* 280. *l.* 4. for that prompted him *r.* that now as it were prompted him, *ibid.* after the laſt line leave out deed, *p.* 281. *l.* 13. for a youth *r.* then a youth, *p.* 296. *l.* 16. for of *r.* with, *p.* 299. *l.* 25. after legs no ſtop, after hight a period, *p* 308. the ſix laſt lines ſhould have been in no different Character from the reſt of the Book, and in the laſt line for revolutions *r.* revolution, beſides other literal faults and wrong ſtops through the Book, which the Reader of himſelf may amend.